HERTFORDSHIRE

DURING

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.

"CROMWELL ARRESTING THE HIGH SHERIFF IN ST. ALBANS MARKET."

HERTFORD

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THE GREAT CIVIL WAR

AND THE

LONG PARLIAMENT.

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTICES OF OCCURRENCES IN BEDS, HUNTS, CAMBS AND ESSEX.

BY

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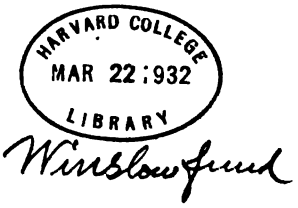

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PREFACE.

The field of research for the years of the Great Civil War is so vast, and the experience of the actors in the great drama so infinitely varied, that he would be a bold man indeed who should claim to have produced an exhaustive account of the actions and the sufferings of the men and women of the time, even in one county. My aim in giving some account of the War from the point of view of the Hertfordshire people has been to present those salient features of the War which from their local colour may be considered of general interest to the people of the county as a whole, rather than of antiquarian interest for the few.

The authorities consulted will be found, for the most part, referred to in the notes which accompany the text. The chief sources of information have been: The Journals of Parliament; State Papers and Royalist Composition Papers in the Public Record Office; Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts; the Thomasson Collection, or King's Pamphlets, and the old Civil War Newspapers and News-letters in the British Museum; Standard Works, such as Rushworth's Historical Collections, and many contemporary authors in the British Museum Library, the Cambridge University Library, and elsewhere; the Herts County Histories by Clutterbuck, Cussans and Chauncy, Rev. W. Urwick's "Nonconformity in Herts," &c.

The great bulk of the Hertfordshire Records, now preserved at the Shire Hall, Hertford, belong to a time subsequent to the great upheaval of the Civil War. Of those which are as old as the first half of the 17th century, there are, as might be expected, considerable gaps in the series for the years of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, between 1640 and 1660; and, as far as I have been able to examine them—by the courtesy of Mr. Dumville, Deputy Clerk of the Peace—the few records in existence for these years refer more to the criminal business coming before Quarter Sessions than to the public life of the County, which would have been reflected in the transactions of the County Committees under Parliament, had the records of these

transactions been preserved. Fortunately, however, many of the communications which passed between the Herts Parliamentary Committee and the Committee for Both Kingdoms sitting in London, at critical points of the War for the Hertfordshire people, are preserved in the Letter-Books of the latter Committee, among the State Papers in the Public Record Office; and these, with the despatches of the Commanding Officers engaged within or upon the borders of the County, materially help to supply the missing links in the County Records.

For information supplied, and for courteous assistance given, I am also indebted to representatives of some of the oldest Hertfordshire families whose ancestors were concerned in the troubles of the times under review—to the Marquis of Salisbury, of Hatfield House; the Hon. Reginald Capel, Little Cassiobury, Watford; Sir John Bennet Lawes, of Rothamsted; General Apsley Cherry-Garrard, of Lamer Park, Wheathampstead; Major Gape, St. Albans, and others; also to Mr. Lewis Evans, Belswains, Hemel Hempstead, for the loan of some rare tracts from his interesting collection of Hertfordshire matters, literary, pictorial, and curious; and for local information to Messrs. R. T. and W. F. Andrews, of Hertford; Mr. A. E. Gibbs, of St. Albans; Mr. G. Loosley, of Berkhamsted, and many others.

While I am conscious that the life and work of a journalist may not seem quite consistent with that learned leisure which the writing of a book such as this may very properly demand, I yet venture to hope that the result of such use as I have been able to make of the intervals of a busy life may not be without interest for Hertfordshire readers, and perhaps for others outside the County.

A. K.

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HERTFORDSHIRE

DURING

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PART I.—IN THE HURLY-BURLY.

INTRODUCTION.

And louder still, and still more loud,
From underneath that rolling cloud,
Is heard the trumpet's war-note proud,
The trampling and the hum!
—*Macaulay.*

Like the worn track of a mountain torrent, stopped in its natural course by some unnatural means till it bursts through all restraints and marks the course of its rage over the face of the earth for all time, so, now and again during the long centuries of human history, we see some great movement of the people marking out the course it has taken with an emphasis which cannot be excluded even from the dignity of history, concerning itself, as it does, for the most part with tracing the footprints of kings and men in high places. Perhaps the greatest of all such landmarks in the history of England was that rugged signature of the people to their act and deed in the great upheaval which resulted in the Civil War in the reign of Charles I.—the great turning-point of our modern history when the battle of the Constitution was fought.

In tracing this, the greatest revolution of England's history, one is conscious that there must be, even in one county, manifold instances of heroic devotion to the highest dictates of chivalry, and to a lofty patriotism and principle, which can only be recalled in part. Of the minor features of the great picture which the Civil War unfolded many have faded beyond recall—hair-breadth escapes, hard riding to and from all points of the compass such as no other period of our history ever knew; besides tragedies and comedies, which would be hard to match in the pages of fiction. Of the heroism, the chivalry, the patriotism, the tragic vicissitudes, and the romantic adventures of Hertfordshire men and women in the cutting of that stout Gordian knot only a part can ever be recalled. Some interesting glimpses of the strange ordeal may, however, be obtained, and sufficient, it is hoped, to make the story worth attempting.

About two centuries before the Great Civil War in the reign of Charles I., the county of Hertford and its inhabitants had played a prominent part in another great struggle—I mean the Wars of the Roses, with their battles of St. Albans—and a parallel between the upheavals at both these periods has been drawn by the late Professor Rogers in which he says:—

"The Parliament of 1449 is singularly like that of 1640 in its temper and policy. In both Parliaments the country had been stirred to its very centre, and an extraordinary number of new men, instructed to find a full and complete remedy for the mismanagement of public affairs, was sent to Westminster. In both, for a time at least, the Commons were practically

unanimous. In both, the House insisted on the redress of grievances before the grant of supply."

Upon that point of the unanimity of Parliament when the struggle began, it may be remarked that in these days there is a risk of overlooking the altered character of the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament as the Civil War proceeded; and of assuming that, as it was a struggle against the King, it was therefore an instance of Republicanism *versus* Monarchy. In its later development the struggle may have assumed that character, but during the first years of actual hostilities it was rather a struggle for the greater independence of Parliament as the voice of the people under a Constitutional Monarchy. It is only by bearing this in mind that we can quite realise the significance of two facts which should not be lost sight of at the outset of these sketches—the one of a general and the other of a local application, viz. (1) the unanimity of Parliament in the first instance against the King, and (2) the comparative absence of any Parliamentary defection among the inhabitants of a county like Hertford with its many attachments to Royalty through its leading families. A few notable exceptions to this rule there were among the gentry, and more among the clergy, but these only seemed to mark the general unanimity, and were much less notable, if openly declared at all, at first, than after the conflict had come to an open rupture, with the employment on both sides of armed force; when, it is true, a good number of Hertfordshire families went over to the King.

If the reader is surprised at the few open champions of the King in a county like Hertford when the conflict began, it should be remembered how the initial stage of the struggle presented itself to the county people. Hertfordshire was a Puritan county, and on the side of the King there were ecclesiastical tendencies running contrary to Puritan feeling. The Parliamentary party had this immense advantage, that they managed, to use a colloquial phrase, to get hold of the handle which controlled much of the local machinery of the county, as that machinery had normally presented itself to the minds of the inhabitants for ages. These effective old forms—from Parliament down to the justices of the peace in Quarter Sessions; nay, down to the parish constable and the parish stocks—remained, and if the King had somehow got out of the main stream of the Constitution himself, and set himself up as absolute head, he could not so easily divest his subjects of these old ties and restraints, which had been the growth of ages and were bound up with their lives and liberties, merely for the sentiment of devotion to the King's person. Hence, on the lines of the *status quo*, wherever that could be maintained, as it seemed likely to be in the county of Hertford, the Parliamentarians had a solid advantage destined to be of immense service in the great difficulties of raising the necessary men and arms for entering upon a war from which all shrunk with a certain repugnance; for, though the King might be going against all constitutional usage, his punishment by arms, and by his own subjects, was naturally against the instincts of the people. It was from these two tendencies—the old conflict of natural inclination and duty, upon which have hinged the dramas of Greece and Rome and of all time—that the ordeal was to arise which was to tear the country in halves; from groups of Statesmen, down through social and domestic life, even to the dividing of lovers over whom Cupid himself was for the time dispossessed of his throne. Cavalier and Roundhead, or Royalist and Republican, as symbols of division, in the first instance, are not quite accurate, because the Civil War in its inception rested upon the Constitutional paradox of the King fighting against himself. The inscription upon the stone suspended on a chain or necklet which Hampden wore—

> **Against my King I never fight,**
> **But for my King and country's right,**

would have been a very good motto for the Hertfordshire people at the beginning of the strife. At least from the point of view of the Parliament of 1640, it was a struggle in the name of the King, that is, the kingly office, against the uses which Charles I. was making of that office, and not against having a king as the head of the nation; a distinction which was not altogether abolished even by the first two years of actual war, as the journals of Parliament still bear witness. Thus, when the conflict had continued for some time, the same formal recognition of the King in official documents was observed; for, in an ordinance for raising troops in Hertfordshire and other counties, by the Parliament against the King's forces, the many services of these counties is acknowledged as being "out of their loyal respect to his Majesty, their pious disposition to the peace and happiness of this kingdom," &c. Nothing but a remembrance of this distinction between the King's acts and his office will enable us to understand, for instance, the practical

unanimity of Parliament in taking up the struggle against the King, the action of Arthur Capel, of Hadham, the member for Hertfordshire—the first to stand up to proclaim the people's grievances in Parliament, yet the first to stand by the King when he thought things had gone too far—or the presence upon the Committee for Hertfordshire for carrying on the war in the Parliamentary cause, of such names as those of Sir John Harrison, of Balls Park, Hertford, and others, whom we shall find in very different company as the war proceeded.

The writer is fully aware of the disadvantage under which he must labour in an attempt to disentangle the affairs of one county from the general maëlstrom in which the country was involved by the Civil War resulting from the conflict between King and Parliament in 1640-49; and also of his inability to deduce any fresh historical lesson from the materials brought together for the purposes of such a survey. At the same time he hopes that a particular survey of the struggle as it affected Hertfordshire, and to some extent adjoining counties, will enable him to present to the reader many matters which, through not being generally known, may have an interest for the inhabitants of the county dealt with, and in some respects afford a typical example of the struggle in other counties, in which, with one or two exceptions, no attempt has been made to present any consecutive story of the Civil War.

The objection to taking what may appear to be the limited view presented by one county, loses some of its force when the peculiarity of the struggle is remembered. Unlike our ideas of modern war, or even of a nation in arms to resist an invasion, the Great Civil War, though raising broad issues of national concern, was almost by necessity a sectional warfare in its methods. To a large extent it was, at least in its earlier stages, a war waged by counties, nay, by towns, by villages, by families, and by individuals. It will therefore be of more interest, perhaps, to endeavour to get some glimpses of the part played by one county in the great struggle, and the extent to which it suffered in its civil, religious, social, and domestic life, especially when that county was, geographically, so situated as Hertfordshire was for forming what, from a strategical point of view, was at once a sort of out-post and out-let for the civil protection and military resources of the Metropolis. The people of the Metropolis were, for the most part, placed at some distance from the ever shifting scene of hostilities, and were in a constant ferment, and thrilled through every fibre—now elated with tidings of victory and anon despondent beneath the omens of defeat—as intelligence travelled slowly and uncertainly citywards, along the great highways through Hertfordshire from the North and West.

The situation of the county of Hertford makes its annals during these stirring twenty years of the Long Parliament of more interest than those of any of the counties within the famous Eastern Counties Association. It saw more of the organization and movement of the Parliamentary Army, and felt more of the effects of the presence within its borders of that Army upon the civil life of the people, than any of the other five counties of the Association; and when the war was virtually over, it was in Hertfordshire and upon its borders that the great Parliamentary Army began to exercise that tremendous power as a political factor which was to determine the fate of the King himself and remodel the governing authority of the country.

Not only by the necessities of the case arising from its situation was the county of Hertford thus closely connected with the organizing, marching, and negotiating of the Parliamentary Army, but it had also peculiar associations which might under other circumstances have influenced the attachment of some of its inhabitants to the Royal cause. The King had, for instance, spent some of his boyhood and early life at Berkhamsted and at Royston; had gone forth from his father's home at Royston on his Spanish wooing expedition, and in later years as King had kept up the home at Royston, and resorted thither much more frequently than he has been credited with in the published notices of the quaint old town. Three times, at critical points in the great struggle, we shall see the King passing through and sojourning within the county thus associated with his boyhood—once in scorn, once in bitter humiliation and alone, and once in a kind of triumph though nominally a prisoner.

Though the inhabitants of the county saw no very great share of actual hostilities, yet, between the sticking up of a notable document on a post in the town of Ware at the beginning of the strife, and the exposure of a Berkhamsted man's head on Westminster Hall in 1660, there was therefore enough happened in the county—of turbulence, of romance, of comedy and tragedy, and enough also of heroic deeds by Hertfordshire

men and women—to make some record of it worth attempting in however incomplete and cursory a form.

Without binding myself, by any hard and fast line, absolutely to what happened in the county of Hertford, I have endeavoured, wherever it seemed necessary to travel beyond its limits, to confine myself almost exclusively to related movements and occurrences on the borders of adjoining counties, and especially in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, with just so much of incidental and passing allusion to general events of the struggle as appeared necessary to make the local occurrences intelligible.

In the following pages it is hoped that, as far as possible, the materials available may be arranged in the natural order of cause and effect as the stages of the dramatic story unfold themselves; and under the heads, Official, Military, Personal, Civil, and Ecclesiastical, will be noticed the official machinery of the county and its means of aiding in the war; the military movements through and the more remarkable occurrences in the county as the great hurly-burly rolled on its course; of the part played by Hertfordshire heroes in the strife and the fate which befel them; and of the effects of the war upon the public, social, domestic, and ecclesiastical life of the county.

HOW THE FRAY BEGAN.—STRANGE SCENES IN HERTFORDSHIRE CHURCHES!

From off unutterable woes,
The curtain of the future rose!

The causes which led up to the great Civil War are too much matters of general history to call for particular mention here. The reader is well aware that for some years before things came to an open conflict, King Charles' attempt to govern without a Parliament, and the bitter remonstrances of the people, were widening the inevitable breach. From that famous parish meeting in Buckinghamshire at which John Hampden met the overseers and parish constables with a refusal to pay his assessment of Ship-money, the cause of the King began to drift apart from, and to alienate, the sympathies of the people. Hampden's trial widened the issue to one of a broad principle upon which lesser folk could readily take sides.

Hampden's conduct was reflected in many parts of Hertfordshire, as well as in other Counties, notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the rigorous levying of the impost by the Sheriff, Thomas Coningsby, of North Mimms.

Against Berkhamsted—a town with so high a sense of its official dignity that one of its constitutions ran: "Lett none deride or evill doe or speake against the Corporation, the Ballyue, or any of ye capitall Burgesses"—against such a town, Thomas Coningsby reported in 1638 that the levy of £25 Ship-money was unpaid. But worse than this, the King's Hertfordshire champion was defied by a near neighbour, for Henry Coghill, of Aldenham, had his goods destrained for refusing to pay Ship-money, and his servant, Arthur Daykins, put in the Fleet Prison for rescuing one of his master's horses from the destraining party. The amount of Ship-money levied in 1636 upon the county of Hertford was £3,984 6*s.* 8*d.*

Burdens and grievances had been growing in volume for some time before the actual crisis. At the end of 1638 the Corporation of St. Albans "Resolved that as Mayors in time past had susteyned verie great charges during their Mayoralties," and as their successors were most "liklie to susteyne yerelie more and greater charges, troubles and losses * * by reason of the greate charge of the tymes that now are and hereafter likelie to ensue," they, the Corporation, allowed the Mayor, Raphe Pemberton, £32 a year over and above the £2 2*s.* usually allowed the Mayor "for distribution among maymed soldiers and poore strangers passing through the Burrough."

Besides Ship-money, there was another grievance to the county in "coat and conduct money"—the cost of providing the soldiers with coats and conducting them to the rendezvous — the Deputy - Lieutenants of Herts questioned its legality, and five of them were summoned to London to answer for their remissness. In fact, neither this nor Ship-money came in very readily from the counties, and the King, to meet his immediate needs, put up to auction the office of Master of the Rolls, and the highest bidder was Sir Charles Cæsar, of Bennington, Herts, who secured the prize for £15,000. [State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I.]

Before that expressive Short Parliament of 1640 gets together, things are fast coming to a crisis. Jenny Geddes has hurled her stool at the head of the ecclesiastical system which Charles

sought to impose upon Scotland, and the year 1640 marks the beginning of the momentous struggle. The memorable Short Parliament, which, sitting for only three weeks, did nothing itself, and yet was the means of bringing into one focus the common sentiment of England, has been hastily dissolved, and at last the King has granted a Parliament which cannot be dissolved but with its own consent, a condition which has practically tied his Majesty's hands in one direction, and given a tremendous impetus to the forces arrayed against the right divine notion. "King Charles did undo himself by signing and passing his Royal assent to two Parliamentary Bills, which proved fatal to his Majesty; one of which was for the continuance of the present Parliament, not to be dissolved without their own consent, a devilish contrivance." So writes Charles Cæsar, of Bennington, Herts, in his common-place book. [*Life and Times of Sir Julius Cæsar*, p. 69.]

The representation of Hertfordshire in Parliament at the beginning of the War, or rather in 1640, was as follows:—The county was represented by Sir William Lytton, and Arthur Capel, Esq., of Hadham, and when in 1641 the latter was made Lord Capel, Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheshunt, took his place in the Commons; for the town of Hertford, Sir Thomas Fanshawe, of Ware Park, and Charles Viscount Cranborne, eldest son of the Earl of Salisbury, and afterwards William Leman; for St. Albans the members were Sir John Jennings, Knight, and Edward Wingate, Esq., Richard Jennings, Esq., succeeding his father at his death in 1642. But besides these, Hertfordshire men and Hertfordshire landowners were in full force at the beginning of the Long Parliament. Robert Cecil, 2nd son of the Earl of Salisbury, sat for Old Sarum, Lucius Cary, or Lord Falkland (of Aldenham), for Newport, Isle of Wight; Sir Richard Lucy, of Broxbourne, for Old Sarum, Sir Henry Slingsby (Newsells) for Knaresborough; Sir Henry Anderson (Pendley) for Newcastle-on-Tyne; Sir John Harrison, of Balls Park, for Lancashire, and his son, William, for Queenborough; Sir Henry Mildmay for Malden, and last, but not least of Hertfordshire men yet to be, Harbottle Grimston, Esq., for Colchester. For the neighbouring counties, Cambs was represented by Thomas Chichley, of Wimpole Hall, and Sir Dudley North, and Oliver Cromwell and John Lowry sat for the town of Cambridge; and for the rest, Members of Parliament ran very much in families—the Montagues for Hunts, Sir Samuel and Sir Oliver Luke for Beds, and the Verneys for Bucks.

When the Long Parliament is summoned in the autumn of 1640 the conflict is nearly twelve months off, and yet there are enough of rumours of war in the air to unsettle the peaceful life of Hertfordshire. In September an order went forth for Hertfordshire to have in readiness a number of "able pioneers, good carts furnished with men and horse," and likewise spades, shovels, and pickaxes, and "all other tools necessary for the making of works of defence in these perilous times," and further, "that the magazine of the county be well stored with powder, shot, and match, and that the beacons of the county be presently made ready and duly watched." It was only because of the invasion of the Scotch army, but the "pioneers, spades, and beacon fires" will very soon be required for affairs nearer home!

There was not only the objectionable demand upon the purses of the county people, but matters of an ecclesiastical kind touching the settled habits of life which were making men uneasy. Old men remembered the time when the Communion table was placed in the centre of every Hertfordshire parish church, but now in many of them it was placed at the east end in the chancel, and railed in as something which was to be for the priest alone and no part of their common life; women remembered when they were permitted to be churched without wearing the veil, as if they had come to do penance instead of give thanks—but now they had these new ceremonies and observances which "do put upon the churches the shape and face of Popery," and against all this tendency the county was ready to speak out.

There was a general resistance to the levies to march against the Scotch army, especially in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, and even where the men were forthcoming they were mutinous. At Aylesbury the mutiny had resulted in the burning of twenty-two houses, and at Icklington, or Ickleton, Cambs, near Royston, the soldiers chased the parson out of his parish! Many of the soldiers felt that to fight against the Scotch would, under present circumstances, be like "fighting for the Papacy against the Gospel!"

From the outset of the struggle in Hertfordshire the element which made the great Civil War so largely a religious war, or a war about ecclesiastical systems, held a prominent place. Some of the inhabitants at any rate were prepared to stoutly

resist what they considered the Romanising tendency of a number of the clergy in the county. In the western parts of the county from Watford to Hemel Hempstead, and in some parishes around Hitchin, about harvest time, 1640, a number of soldiers belonging to the county had in various churches entered a rough protest against things ecclesiastical by pulling down the altar rails, and with the evident sympathy of the inhabitants, who were being led with a high hand by the supporters of Laud among their clergy. The magistrates found the people would not give up the soldiers' names. The acts were committed openly, either by the soldiers finding the church door open and walking in, or obtaining the key for the purpose. In all, seventeen churches in the county were treated in this fashion.

Perhaps the most remarkable form of this protest was that which was witnessed at King's Walden, in the "half-hundred" of Hitchin. The people there had assembled in Church for divine service on a Sunday morning in harvest time. Whilst Ralph Battell, the curate (on the small stipend of £12 per annum and fees), is conducting the service, the tired, sleepy harvest folk are roused to a pitch of uncommon interest by the entry of soldiers, twenty-four in number, who march into the Church in an ominous manner which shows them to be anything but ordinary worshippers. Without pausing to look for a seat amongst the people they march down the aisle, and, to the consternation of the parish clerk and the Rev. Ralph Battell, right into the chancel itself! All eyes were now fixed upon the new rails shutting in the communion table, which Mr. Battell, with his notions of high church and low fees, possibly assisted by the "rich and able men" owning the living, had somehow got fixed there. The soldiers, however, coolly appropriate the available seats, and, forming a congregation by themselves in the chancel, bide their time! The minister, thinking probably he had better not provoke a riot, goes on with the sermon. When the sermon was ended the soldiers "before all the congregation, tore down the rails and defaced the wainscoat," and having "extracted some money" from the poorly-paid minister, "invited themselves to the Churchwardens to dinner!" In the afternoon they brought an ex-communicated person into the Church and forced the minister to read evening prayers in his presence.

This extreme form of a protest, which in principle met with a good deal of tacit approval, was too much, even in unsettled times, to be allowed to pass without notice of the ordinary law; and, as similar incidents had occurred elsewhere, an Order in Council called upon the Justices of Herts to "make strict inquiry for and to vigorously punish all unruly soldiers and others the authors of the late disorders and profanities [of churches] in that county." The Justices set about an inquiry, and their report, read between the lines, discloses an extraordinary state of things and a disposition not to convict anybody if that can well be avoided! Writing to the Council on 17th September, 1640, they give this remarkable narrative:—

"Before your letter of the 6th of this month * * * came to our hands we had directed a precept to the Sheriff for an inquisition at Watton [apparently at Sir John Butler's house] on the 15th of this month, and warrants to the constables in the hundred of Broadwater and half-hundred of Hitchin for strict inquiries to be made for rioters and their countenancers and abettors * * The Jury gave their verdict in writing that the rails of the chancells in five churches in the Broadwater hundred were pulled down by the soldiers, but they seriously affirm to us on oath that they could not discover the name or dwelling of one rioter. * * * In the half-hundred of Hitchin only the Church of King's Walden had the railes pulled down. [Here follows the incident described above.] By no means could we discover the names or dwellings of any of these malefactors, save that they were soldiers billetted in Beds; and three days afterwards, openly and in the day time, they entered the ground of Periam Docwra, Esq. [of Lilley ?] and took thence a fat ox which they brought into the next market town [Hitchin ?] with a drum, the owner and his servants looking on and not daring to resist it; it was restored to the owner for 16s. drink money. The jurors presented that Edward Dickenson, of Luton, Beds., was one of them.

"After their disbanding, five of these vagabond soldiers went to a gentleman's house in Broadwater Hundred, where Capt. Brockett was, and pretended the captain had detained their wages, and threatened to have money or his blood, when the captain wounded one of them with his sword whereof he died next day. The soldier so slain, the Master of the House of Correction informs us, was an incorrigible rogue, born and bred of vagabond parents, and it is thought the leader of those who profaned the Churches, from which time there has been no rioting so far as we know. * " [State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I., vol. 467.]

A very plausible statement indeed! But what follows will show that the unfortunate Broadwater tramp, who was run through by Captain Brockett's sword, apparently without any trouble coming to the Captain, was, to some extent, a Puritan scapegoat. The same kind of thing had been happening in other parts of the county. Indeed, the pulling down of the offensive altar rails, if not the fighting and rioting which sometimes ensued, had been winked at in high places, and it became necessary to make an example; so an Order in Council goes forth to Sir John Jennings, K.B., member of Parliament for St. Albans, who, it alleged, had shown great remissness in the exercise of his office as Justice of the Peace in Herts "in [not] apprehending certain soldiers that had committed great profanation of Churches and otherwise," and he was sent for by warrant to the House of Lords; and being examined was found "very faulty and no way able to justify [refute] the charge against him."

Sir John was thereupon ordered to be committed to the Fleet prison till he gives security before the Attorney General for his appearance in the Star Chamber. By the 9th Sir John had found the security, and upon that the Warden of the Fleet had warrant to release him on his bond to appear in the Court of the Star Chamber. Shortly afterwards he and Sir John Butler are sitting at Hertford upon inquisition, inquiring into these very offences, in the hundreds of Cashio and Dacorum, and on the 5th October they certify to the Council that they "selected 17 jurors able and sufficient freeholders out of the 24 returned by the Sheriff," who, after hearing the constables and ministers of the parishes and others, returned their verdict "that the rails in the chancels of ten Churches in those hundreds were pulled down by soldiers, who had entered the Churches by finding the doors open or procuring the key, but the names and habitations of the rioters they declared they knew not."

It was unfortunate for Sir John, with the Star Chamber doom impending, that the justices could show so little with such a jury and with such unwilling witnesses. One Edmund Aylee, a glazier, of Bishop Stortford, described as the "captain of those unruly soldiers," did get within the clutches of Thomas Coningsby, and was committed to prison at Hemel Hempstead, but only to be released by force by his fellow soldiers, he confessing that "he could have five hundred to relieve him in case of need." Aylee confessed that he and seven other impressed soldiers did enter Rickmansworth Church, and after the end of the morning sermon, "did there wittingly and suddenly pull down and break in pieces the rayle about the Communion table, and that in the afternoon they broke down part of the cover of the font, and he acknowledged a conversation at the White Hart at Rickmansworth about the coming of the Scots Army."

So the affair ended rather badly for Sir John Jennings, Member for St. Albans, upon whom the brunt fell, and in December he is committed to the Fleet again, and soon after dies, and is succeeded by Richard Jennings, Esq.

The high-church clergy in their parishes had an unpleasant time of it in this year, 1640. Away in the quiet corner of Hertfordshire at the Pelhams, with their legendary lore of Piers Shonks and the Evil One, there is walking up and down through the solitary hours of night a very high priest of Laud, with a soul full of hot zeal for the King, unquestioning faith in Bishops, and of unutterable things against Puritan reformers—swinging his stout sword in his hand too, with ill omen for those intent upon pulling down the offending rails which shut off the Communion Table from the common people in his Parish Church!

In one case in a neighbouring county the altar rails were burnt down with "broom fagots"; in another they were taken away and set up round a pond called the "Parson's pond." In Hertfordshire also when the rails were pulled down they were in some cases afterwards burnt, and at Hoddesdon after the rails had been pulled down dogs were turned, in an offensive manner, under the Communion Table!

GRIEVANCES, PETITIONS AND PROTESTATIONS.—THE KING'S MARCH THROUGH HERTFORDSHIRE.

"The Petitioners take upon them the humble boldnesse to declare their readinesse to stand to and defend to the utmost perill of their lives***"
Herts Petition.

"For the Militia, he would not trust his Wife and Children with it an hour, and that it was never asked of any King."
King Charles' reply at Royston.

In the month of November, 1640, was summoned the famous Long Parliament, the members of which, for Herts and neighbouring counties, have already been mentioned. This Parliament, from which so much was expected, commenced to run its eventful course by "a consideration of

all the grievances of the people these many years," in which they had been deprived of a voice in Parliament. This measure opened the flood-gates of popular feeling, and set all counties to work drawing up, and preparing to present, their petitions, and Hertfordshire was one of the first counties to contribute to that avalanche of petitions.

"The first that stood up at this time to represent the grievances of this country was Arthur Capel, Esq., then Knight of the Shire for the County of Hertford, afterwards Lord Capel, who presented a petition in the name of the freeholders of that county, setting forth the burden and oppressions of the people during the long intermission of Parliament, in their consciences, liberties, and properties, and particularly in the heavy tax of ship money." [Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. 4, p 21.]

Arthur Capel and the Hertfordshire petitioners were supported by a future Hertfordshire man, whom we shall meet in Harbottle Grimston, who summed up the burden of the debate with an anecdote from the bar, winding up with the epigram "they begin to say in town that the judges have over-thrown the law and the bishops the gospel." Pym also made a speech on the occasion of this Hertfordshire petition, and the Hertfordshire petitioners received the thanks of the House.

The County of Hertford was getting into a discontented mood all round over its grievances, and just before spending that Christmas with which was to disappear for a time all thoughts of "Peace on earth and good will towards men," we see divers inhabitants in and about the towns of Watford and St. Albans presenting their humble petitions against Thomas Coningsby, the High Sheriff, for his rigorous levying of Ship-money, placing Mr. Coningsby in a corner, from which he only extricated himself by giving bail.

It must suffice to say that during the year 1641 the turmoil did not cease. Strafford, "the one supremely able man the King had," has been sacrificed; and the country people who went up to see the execution have returned to their homes shouting, with the authority of eye witnesses—"His head is off! His head is off!" and breaking the windows of those who would not celebrate the event with a bonfire! [Warwick's Memoirs.] With strange scenes of tumult without, the House of Commons draws up its Protestation—"We take the Supreme to witness that we will stand by one another to the death in prosecution of our just objects here, in defence of law, loyalty and Gospel here"—a protestation which, as the months go by, lays hold of Hertfordshire and neighbouring counties, of whom there goes up an impressive cavalcade of 4,000 Buckinghamshire petitioners with the Protestation stuck in their hats! The scene, as counties go up, is quaintly and eloquently described by Vicars in that strange medley of Biblical and secular words and things entitled, "*God in the Mount, or England's Remembrancer.*" He has been describing the vote of the House, vindicating the action of petitioners in defence of the privileges of Parliament, and thus breaks out:

"Nay, yet to make the beautie and brightnesse of that foresaid Tewsday's sunshine of comfort yet more glorious to our eyes and hearts; that very same 11th Jan., I say being Tewsday, came a numerous multitude of Buckinghamshire men, both gentlemen, ministers and others of that county on hors back, in very fair and orderly manner with the Protestation in their hats and hands, partly in the behalf of the most worthy Knight of their Shire in Parliament, Mr. Hampden, but especially to Petition Parliament for the reform of the evils in Church and State, * * the sweet harmonious concurrence of both Houses against all sinister obstructions," &c., &c., "and since which time, even immediately after, mightie multitudes out of Essex, divers thousands out of Hartfordshire, Berkshire, Surrey, and other counties of the Kingdom, in brief from all Shires and Counties of the whole Realm, came still one after another to London to exhibit their petitions to the Parliament in the causes aforesaid; from all parts swelling in the stream of affections and petitions, all having one desire, all I say, as one man unanimously consenting in this one thing, namely a serious and settled resolution to petition and pray a speedie, refining and reforming of persons and things amisse among us."

Memorable as the march of a great army must have been the sight of these Knights and freeholders from the Shires of England; and even London itself, used to all kinds of petitioning parties in these days—the City of London petition carried by a selected 400 riding to Westminster in fifty coaches—turns out to see the spectacle, one item in which, the Bedfordshire petitioners, is thus described by Nehemiah Wallington in his *Historical Notices:* — "I myself did see I think above two thousand of these men come riding from Finsbury Fields, four in a rank, with their Protestations in their hats."

The petition out of Buckinghamshire had been "brought to the town by about six thousand men," and so determined was this army of freeholders and constituents of Hampden to be heard, that they had come prepared with a separate petition for the Commons, for the House of Lords, and one for the King, and succeeding in presenting each before returning to their homes! The most memorable of the Hertfordshire petitions was some months later.

Wherever the clergy who were favourable to Parliament, and especially those nominated and appointed by Parliament, found themselves called upon to discharge any function connected with the civil and official life of the county, it is not surprising that they should "improve" the occasion a little, such as at the opening of the Commission for Assizes, &c. There is, for instance, a singular story related of the conduct of the preacher at the opening of the Commission for the Hertford Assizes by Mr. Justice Mallett in 1641.

"Mr. Foxley (an antient man), preaching at Hartford Assizes delivered this doctrine. That none could be saved but a Puritan. I will prove this point (said he) by Scripture, &c.—and there [be] was at a stay and could not proceed further. Whereupon the Clarke sung a Psalme. Then he would have gone with the proof of his former doctrine, but could not proceed a word more; so a second Psalme was sung by the Clarke, and so likewise a third time, till the congregation was abruptly dismissed, and the Preacher hurried out of the Church and the judge departed." [Baker MSS., University Library, Cambridge, vol. 34, p. 31.]

When in November, 1641, the King, returning from his journey to Scotland, was received with demonstrations and speeches from mayors and others of the towns through which he passed, some of the inhabitants of that part of Hertfordshire on the North Road were inclined, amidst all the sinister omens of Irish rebellions and Parliamentary remonstrances, to throw up their hats, as appears by this interesting glimpse obtained from the correspondence between the King and Sir Edward Nicholas, his secretary. The latter writing to the King while on the road, says:—

"I hear from a very good hand that there are diverse principall gent. of Hertfordsh: who are desirous to tender their duty to your Majestie att Ware, and to wayte on you into that towne, if your Majestie shall make any stop there, and they will bring with them diverse of their neighbours and friends who are desirous to show how welcome your Majestie's returne is into that country, whereof I thought good to give your Majestie this tymely notice, for that I humbly conceave it would not be amisse for your Majestie in these tymes to accept grac'ously ye affec'ons of your subjects in that kinde, whereby you will have opportunity to show youself grac'ous to your people as your Majestie passeth, and to speake a few good words to them which will gaine ye affons (especially of ye vulgar) more then anything that hath bene donne for them this Parliamt."

Two days later the Queen writes to "Maistre Nicholas," stating that the King "will be at Tibols vendnesday and shall lye there." But before the King gets anywhere near Theobalds Sir Edward renews his artful coaching of his Majesty about his behaviour on coming to Ware in these terms:—

"I have now again receaved assurance, that * * ye gent: and diverse of ye best of ye freeholders of Hertfordshire will wayte on your Majestie a myle before you come to Ware, and if your Majestie please to make a little stop in that towne, that ye better sorte may there kisse your Royall hand, and ye rest be spoken to by your Majestie, it will give them very great contentmt * * * * I am ye more dilligent to give your Majestie this advertisemt because I know those gent: will not fayle in this manner to shew their affec'ons and duty to you, and that county being soe neere a neighbour to London it wilbe a good encouragemt and comfort to your well affected people here to understand that they have neighbours that have ye like dutifull affec'ons to your Majestie's person and governmt."

I have found no record of how the Ware reception actually went off, but there is little room for doubt that the gentry and freeholders about Ware got their hearts' desire from a King who could listen to the glowing speeches of the mayors of Stamford and Huntingdon, the last-named gentleman winding up with the boast that "although Rome's hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs, crocodilicall chickens, yet under the shield of Faith, by you, our most Royal Sovereigne defended, and by the King of Heavens as I stand and your most medicable councell, would we not be fearful to withstand them."

Who were the gent: who were to "kiss the Royall hand," and how far the event had a good effect upon "ye vulgar" about Ware, the reader will be at no loss to guess and appreciate as our

narrative proceeds. Capel had already come under the royal favour and had been created Baron Capel of Hadham, only a few weeks before, and Sir John Watts, of Mardocks, and the Fanshawes, of Ware Park, were probably with Lord Capel in going out to meet the King; but, as we shall see presently, the bulk of the inhabitants were entirely with the Parliament.

At the end of the year 1641, or rather at the beginning of 1642, the county of Hertford presented two petitions, one to the House of Peers and the other to the House of Commons, in an imposing fashion, "delivered by at least 4,000 knights, gentlemen, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the county of Hertford."

In the first of these petitions the great army of knights, gentlemen and freeholders set forth:—"That the petitioners have hitherto with much patience waited for, and with great confidence expected the happy progress of this Parliament, and therein the removal of all those grievances, under which they have long groaned, and the perfect reformation of Church and Commonwealth. They are now constrained to represent unto this Honourable House the manifold fears, troubles and distractions wherewith they are encompassed * * * from the continuance of the prelacy and multitudes of scandalous ministers * * the insolence of the Papists * * the great and unparalleled breaches lately made upon the privileges of Parliament, the delay of putting the kingdom into a posture of war for their better defence; the misunderstanding between His Majesty and the Parliament, and the want of compliance by the Honourable House with the House of Commons. * * * All which * * having occasioned the total decay of trade and great scarcity of money and thereby the impoverishing and unsettlement of the kingdom * * * The petitioners therefore pray that the voting of Popish Lords and Bishops may be removed out of the House of Lords, that the evil councillors * * may be taken from about His Majesty."

The second petition, to the House of Commons, was more outspoken on the ecclesiastical side, showing:—

"That this Church and Kingdom, being by the prelates, those multitudes of corrupt and scandalous ministers (their creatures) and Popish party * * evil ministers of state, and great swarms of projectors * * * brought to a sad and almost desperate condition, and thereby the splendour of His Majesty's Crown and dignity dangerously weaken and eclipsed * * and although by the calling of a Parliament * * Arbitrary Courts, Ship-money, monopolies, and other illegal impositions have been removed, the progress of this good work is hindered by the malignant party of prelates and papists, who seek to divide between his Majesty and this Honourable Assembly, and to render the same contemptible and * * burdensome to the people * * * the petitioners take upon them the humble boldnesse to declare their readinesse and great engagements according to their Protestation to stand to, and defend, to the utmost perill of their lives and estates, the King's Majestie and High Court of Parliament, with all the power and priviledges of the same, * * against all Popish and other malignant opposers, who endeavour, either by evill counsell, secret plots, or open force to hurt or prejudice the same, or to make divisions betweene his Majesty and the Parliament."

So the petitioners prayed that the Papists might be fully disarmed, the laws against them executed, "the Kingdom, and especially this county, according to their late petition on that behalf, put into a posture of warre for their better defence," * * and, generally, that all pressures and grievances in Church and Commonwealth be removed, and "the reforming of what is therein amisse."

So spake the predominant voice of the people of Hertfordshire at the opening of the momentous year of 1642.

On January 10th, 1642, † Lady Sussex is indulging in her gossipy comments on public affairs from Gorhambury to Sir Ralph Verney in London, and says: "These distracted times put us all in great disorders, but I hope we shall not be killed yet; * * Your Parliament flies high, but truly it is a happy thing I think they have so much courage to stand to maintain their rights."

In spite of petitions and grand remonstrances, the opening months of 1642 saw the King—having sent the Queen out of England to a place

† According to the old style of reckoning the year, this would have been 1641, the year ending on 24th of March. I have thought it better, throughout this Book, to give the date in the year according to the new style, *i.e.*, commencing with January 1st, excepting where a date occurs in an actual quotation, when the difference will be indicated in parentheses.

of safety in Holland with the crown jewels to pawn—on his march away from his Parliament in a double sense, through Hertfordshire for the North—"The first incident of the drama which soon afterwards filled the stage with the thunder of drums and trumpets." [*Fairfax Correspondence.*] On the 28th of February he is at Theobalds and on March 3rd reaches Royston. Here, with the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the many nobles in his train, His Majesty makes a long stay of five days [*Iter. Carolinum*, in Somers Tracts, Brit. Mus.] in the Old Court House of his Royal Father, James I.

While at Royston, the declaration of Parliament concerning the Militia was brought to the King by the Earls of Pembroke and Holland, when His Majesty returned a most polite declaration, and verbally told the Lords that for the Militia he would not trust his wife and children with it for an hour, and that it was never asked of any King. [*Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War.*] Here, too, we get an interesting glimpse of the state of the Royal temper in the letters written by Prince Charles, the future Charles II. Writing, from the old Palace of his grandfather, to "the Lady Marie," his most "Royal sister," two days after the King had gone on from Royston to Newmarket, the young Prince candidly admits :—

"My father is very disconsolate, and troubled, partly for my Royal mother's and your absence, and partly for the disturbances of the Kingdome. I could wish and daily pray that there might be a conjunct and perfect uniting between my father's Majesty and his Parliament; that there might be a perfect concordance with them in the subject of the removal of the grievances of the country and the ruining of our decayed joys. We are as much we may merrie, and more than we wood sad, in respect we cannot alter the present distempers of these turbulent times. My father's resolution is now for York, where he intends to reside to see the event or sequell of these bad unpropitious beginnings, where you may direct your letter to.

Your loving brother,
CAROLI PRINCEPS.

Royston, March 9, 1641 (1642).
[*King's Pamphlets* E. 140 (16) Brit. Mus.]

Here, at least, is no notion of Divine right, but a tacit acknowledgment that his Royal father may have been in the wrong as well as Parliament. A sensible letter from a lad not yet quite twelve years of age. Accompanied by Dukes and Earls, the young Prince leaves Royston for Cambridge, witnesses a comedy at Trinity College, and gained the credit for "not hiding his devotion in his hat" at a service in King's College Chapel; and received his degree. The King leaves his tennis and races at Newmarket to join his son at Cambridge, having replied to the loudly muttered demand for his giving up power of the Militia with that final defiant message to Parliament :—"No! by God! not for an hour!" That is the last word, though the raising of the standard at Nottingham is five months ahead; and, joining Prince Charles, and the nobles at Cambridge, the King "took coach for Huntingdon" on his way to York to await "the sequell of these unpropitious beginnings"!

HERTFORDSHIRE MEN GETTING INTO ARMOUR.

> The Horsemen and the Footmen
> Are pouring in amain,
> From many a stately market place,
> From many a fruitful plain!
>
> *Macaulay.*

Henceforth, the only question for Hertfordshire men and women, as for many others, will be one of taking sides in the tremendous issues which are arising. Parliament sets about an ordinance for dealing with the Militia; and, says Carlyle, "the question puts itself to every English soul, which of these will you obey?—and in all quarters of English ground, with swords getting out of their scabbards, and yet the constable's baton still struggling to rule supreme, there is a most confused solution of it going on. Mr. Cromwell has gone down into Cambridgeshire in person since they began to train there, and assumed the chief management. The like was going on in all shires of England; wherever the Parliament had a zealous member it sent him down to his shire in these critical months to take what management he could, or durst. The most confused months England ever saw. In every shire, in every parish, in court houses, ale houses, churches, markets, wheresoever men were gathered together, England with sorrowful confusion in every fibre, is tearing itself into hostile halves to carry on the voting by pike and bullet henceforth."

The gentlemen sent down to the county of Herts were the members of Parliament, Lord Cranborne, Mr. Robert Cecil, Captain Wingate, and Sir John Harrison, who, on the 14th July,

were ordered to be at Hertford at the Assizes on the morrow to advance the propositions for bringing in money, plate and horse.

Through all the county nothing falls upon the ears of the agitated country folk but the strains of martial music—not the strains of the military band, as we understand them to-day, but the rousing blare of trumpets and the rolling of drums! For with these heralds all proclamations are made, whether of orders of Parliament, commissions from the King, or the authority of the recruiting sergeant. Such a universal blowing of trumpets and beating of drums was never heard in England before—like the echoes of the rams' horns which brought down the walls of Jericho, and many old Puritan folk are thinking seriously of the parallel, and are predicting the falling down of thrones and palaces of earthly kings before the voice of the God of battles! Yet these heralds of drums and trumpets are but a part of the distressing confusion of ominous sounds with which the air is full—like the advance guard behind which are angry moving masses of a mighty army; or the first great pattering rain drops and soughing of the wind before the electric shock of the tempest. Into the nooks and crannies of gable-shaded streets in our old Hertfordshire towns these heralds press their claims with a terrible meaning already visible upon men's faces!

Away on the village green, too, where the Maypole has been wont to be set up, the echoes have come to the children, who, always ready to catch up sides in a popular movement, are sharpening wooden swords, flinging at each other the catchwords and coming to mimic warfare—sturdy little Roundheads and haughty little Cavaliers, to whom the great drama approaching is as a tale that is told! To the youth and the maiden the reality comes nearer which is to make the two hearts grow sad and two faces grow older, as Romeo begins to make a conscience of his leanings to King or Parliament, and his Juliet sees the great gulf between the Montagues and Capulets stretching away beyond the reach of that golden link which was to have united two young lives. To the aged the trial is bitter with a discipline which tries as by fire—in the market, the family, at the altar, and on the village green the dividing element is cutting down to the marrow of all county life!

Already private and family life is shrinking from the terrible possibilities impending. "They promised as all should be well if my lord Strafford's head were off, but since then there is nothing better." * * "Oh that the sweet Parliament would come with the olive branch in its mouth!" * * "We are like so many frightened people." * * * "If I hear but a door creak I take it to be a drum,"—these are expressions from the private letters of the time, and Lady Sussex, from Gorhambury, writes, "God's power is above all, who I hope in mercy will yet keep us from the miseries we expect."

What will Hertfordshire people do? Already in the ancestral homes of the county, men, animated by family pride and the traditions of their house, are taking down old suits of armour, rusty from disuse; and, buckling on their swords, are thinking also of how they may best equip their dependents, or those of their yeomen tenants who may be inclined to follow their lead. Torn asunder by sentiments, not of personal enmity or family feud—and certainly not by any feeling of class against class—but simply by principles which appeal to old traditions and settled habits, the more resolute soon know upon which side to range themselves, and for the irresolute there will be no choice but to yield to the force of circumstances, and these are fast becoming urgent and pressing.

Over nearly all Hertfordshire Puritan influence is strong enough to make it doubtful whether the King will get much support from the great body of the people. Certain great families and many of the clergy are already stirring for the King, and the relative strength of Royalists and Parliamentarians in Hertfordshire will depend upon how far the influence of those families extends. Westward of St. Albans, and indeed all over the northern part of the county as well, Royalists will be comparatively few. The chief centre of support to which the King's party may look will be within a few miles of the county town. In the neighbourhood of Hertford and Ware are powerful families; all of them popular in the county both on the local grounds of a generous recognition of their responsibilities to dependents and tenants, and on the general ground of their action, hitherto, in county affairs. Within a few miles of Hertford there are for instance the branches of the great family of Boteler or Butler, who, whether at Watton Woodhall, Hatfield, Tewin, Sacombe, or elsewhere, are all going solid for the King! The Fanshawes, of Ware Park, have already declared themselves on the same side, with Sir John Watts, of Mardocks; while the Harrisons, of Balls Park, are so intimately related to the same families that their allegiance is only a question

of time, even if one of Sir John's sons has not already gone off after the King. Then last, but not least, there is Arthur Capel, late member for the county and now Lord Capel, of Hadham, who, though he stood up for grievances so strongly at first on behalf of his constituency, is a man of too high a character for anyone in Hertfordshire to doubt his sincerity in going over to the King, and has too great an influence and popularity for that act not to affect some of his neighbours.

In these dividing times men are asking "stands Hatfield House where it did?" Will the house of Cecil continue at the right hand of Kings, even a Stuart of the Stuarts? The answer is just now a little doubtful, for to the surprise of the whole county, and to the alarm of many, William, Earl of Salisbury, staunch Puritan though he is, having, with other noble lords, signed the declaration of belief that the King has no intention of making war upon Parliament, has gone off to the King at York! It is true there comes news that the Earl has again turned his horses' heads southward, has declined to remain with the King, and is on his way back to Parliament, which soon proves to be the case, to the great relief of the people of the county. His son, Viscount Cranborne, no one doubts, will go with the people of the county and with Parliament, and thus Hatfield House is assured for Parliament—the Earl as a statesman and his son as a soldier in command of county forces.

There is one more figure of considerable note in Thomas Coningsby, of North Mimms; but, hot-headed and zealous for the King to a fault, his example is not likely to have as much weight as some of those already named. His neighbours remember Ship-money and Mr. Coningsby's action in regard to that subject, but he is one who will have to be reckoned with. To the influence of the above-named groups of powerful families, upon the yeomanry and smaller county folk, may be added the divided counsels which seemed likely to prevail in Hertford and St. Albans Corporations, and are likely at first to cause some trouble, though the majority of the townsmen will here, as in other towns, come out on the side of Parliament in the end. If only the more ardent Royalists get drawn away by the course of events, the whole of the county will go pretty solid for Parliament; if not there will be trouble; for Hertfordshire, if only for its great roads of communication, must be kept open and held for the Parliament at all costs!

Quietly, but unceasingly, in the mansions of the old county families I have named, there is a preparation going forward which calls upon every smith and metal worker in the neighbourhood to be working night and day in repairing old armour; and in some cases, as at Ware Park, the Royalist families are keeping smiths concealed at work in their own houses, while in others, such as Hadham Hall, there has been for some time past an unusual arrival of boxes, the contents of which are shrewdly guessed at by many, though the time for open avowal is not yet ripe!

All through the summer of 1642 recruiting and training of Volunteers is going forward—London enlisting four or five thousand in a single day; contributions in horses, arms, money and plate, and "even women's thimbles to an unheard of amount" come in, and the friends of the King are equally forward in giving up treasure! The University of Cambridge has got together a vast treasure, but, unfortunately, Mr. Cromwell, member for the town, is already in evidence, and on the 15th of August seizes the magazine in the Castle at Cambridge, and at one stroke "hinders the carrying off the plate from the University, which, as some report, was of the value of £20,000." [Commons Journals.]

In almost every town and village the training of Volunteers and turning out of old armour is going forward under no small difficulty to avoid open conflict. Intimidation there was as much as could find a place without actual violence!

The very first attempt of training Hertfordshire men under the Parliament's militia order in June was hampered in this way around Hertford, and "young Mr. Keeling," steward of the Borough of Hertford, and Andrew Palmer, the Mayor, sent to Mr. Turner, and others who were training the citizens in arms, to take their names! This resulted in a curious little piece of cross-purposes shortly afterwards at the Hertfordshire Quarter Sessions. Young Mr. Keeling happened to preside and charged the Grand Jury to make presentment of the names of such as had exercised in arms; but, unfortunately for Mr. Keeling, the foreman of the Grand Jury was this same Mr. Turner, the drill-sergeant for Parliament! Mr. Turner refused to make the presentment, and as for young Mr. Keeling and the Mayor, they were "sent for" by Parliament, and one of them at least we shall meet with again!

Still, the power of the Royalist families was at first very considerable in the county, and the apprehension of the non-combatants is very well reflected in the lament of Lady Sussex from Gorhambury—"These miserable times will make us suffer in many ways. The King's party grows so strong that certainly he will overcome the power of the Parliament. They come in abundantly to him I hear at York. Truly if there should be any blows I know not what will come of us!"

But the West of the county is coming out strong for Parliament. Thus on June 19th, 1642, we find that:—

"The towne of Watford in Hartfordshire also sent up to London fifty or sixty very good horses and their riders, together with about £1,200 in money and plate, which was brought into Guildhall in London and their horses listed in Moorefields. These manifested their cheereful readinesse to stand for religion, King, and Parliament, which though but a particular towne of a county, I have mentioned particularly as most worthy of observation to the honour of the pious and worthy inhabitants thereof. [Vicars' Parliamentary Chronicle.]

On the 1st July, Dr. Burges, then vicar of Watford, presents to the House a petition from the inhabitants of Watford with respect to this contribution in money and serviceable horses. The House accepted their petition and thanked them for their liberal offer and subscription "in a business so nearly concerning the safety of the King, religion, and kingdom, as an acceptable service to the Commonwealth." The Speaker was especially desired to give thanks to the town of Watford, who had given so ample testimony of their affection. The Watford people had, in fact, already suffered from troops raised for the King, and the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood mustered the Volunteers with sufficient spirit to make it worth while for the Royalists to retire.

The Royalist gentry of the county having got together large bodies of Horse seem likely to cause much trouble before the year is out. Families who have no taste for the fray are cautiously putting away their valuables, and especially plate, and preparing for the evil day. The day after the foregoing record of the doings of the Watford people, for instance, Lady Sussex writes from Gorhambury:—

"I hope in God we shall have no fighting: truly the Lords' protestation methinks is a very good one, defend the King's person and estate and lawful prerogative and privilege of Parliament. Methinks everyone should subscribe to this."

And then the shrewd, cautious Parliamentarian shows how much more important it is to hold your own goods and chattels while you appear to hold other people's opinions:—

"I am loth to eat in pewter yet, but truly I have put up my plate, and *say it is sold.* I hope they will have to borrow no money of my lord, if they do we must deny it; 'tis enough for us to pay subsidies."

The conflict between King and Parliament for the possession of power over the Militia was reflected in every county. The King in order to keep it in his hands appointed Commissioners of his own—Coningsby, Capel, and others—to call out the Militia; Parliament had got the Lord Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenants into its hands, and appointed fresh Deputy Lieutenants where any began to show signs of going over to the King. On the 12th July Parliament passes a resolution for raising an army "for the safety of the King's person and the defence of both Houses"; and on the other hand the King appoints his Commissioners of Array not only to call out the Militia but also to raise an army for the safety of the King's person, and in defiance of both Houses!

Under that conflict of authorities our local and county life presented a strange spectacle all through the summer and autumn of 1642, of rival proclamations being posted up, torn down again, and others pasted over them, on Church doors, town houses, and gateways of inns in every town and parish in the county—like the mural literature of a county election, but with a more serious import!

The handling of these old proclamations is occasionally referred to in old town records and parish accounts. Thus, in the Mayor's accounts for St. Albans in that year (1642) there is the entry:—

"Given to a messenger who brought three proclamations, one for the obeying of the Commissioners about the Militia, and another forbidding horses to be levied, or forces without his Majesty's great seal, and another forbidding the staying of horses."

There are also similar entries in the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter's Parish, St. Albans,

into the formal details of which it is not necessary further to enter.

In July and August Parliament made order for the towns of Hertford and St. Albans and adjacent towns to train their volunteers—at Hertford under Mr. Isaac Puller, and at St. Albans under Mr. Alban Cox (for the horse), and Mr. John Marsh for the foot—and guaranteed them the protection of and indemnity from Parliament for so doing. Special care was also enjoined to guard the town of Hertford, and the powder magazine there. How the town was guarded and converted into a military centre in a few short weeks we shall see presently in some "terrible newes from Hartford."

"TERRIBLE NEWES FROM HARTFORD." —A CURIOUS NIGHT SURPRISE.—RAID ON HADHAM HALL!

> A sound of tumult troubles all the air
> Like the low thunders of a sultry sky.
> * * * * * * * *
> The hills blaze red with warnings, foes
> draw nigh!
>
> *Whittier.*

The example of the two principal towns spread to all parts of the county. The Hertford borough records still testify to the drilling of the inhabitants in such entries as "Paid for work at the Butts," while new arms were purchased by the Corporation, and the old ones re-dressed, and other items are entered "for gunpowder for the musters," and "for dressing muskets," &c., &c.

The first thing to be done to organize a county force was to secure the action of the Lord Lieutenant in setting on foot and drilling the Militia. The Earl of Salisbury was at first either half-hearted in the business or had not got back from the King at York in time. At any rate "upon the failure of the Lord Lieutenant" the deputies were ordered by Parliament to put the Militia order in execution, and Lord Cranborne was nominated Lord Lieutenant in place of the Earl of Salisbury, his father.

To a few leading men in the county upon whom he could rely the King has issued Commissions of Array; commencing "right trusty and well-beloved we greet you well," and proceeding to denounce the Parliament's Militia order and its promoters as traitors, and authorising the raising of horse and troops for the King. Lord Capel, of Hadham, and Thomas Coningsby, the rigorous levier of Ship-money, each receives a Commission, as later on do Sir Thomas Fanshawe, of Ware Park, Sir John Watts, of Mardocks, near Ware, and Sir John Butler, of Watton Woodhall.

With the posting up of proclamations, that question of "which is to be obeyed" comes home to Hertfordshire people in a notable form. The regular functionaries of town crier and parish beadle have duly posted the Ordinance of the Militia, but the King has to trust to other means for getting his bill-posting done in the county.

In every parish the clergyman received a copy of the Parliament's proclamation, and the King had taken care that a class of men for the most part his strongest supporters should receive a copy of his proclamation too. Then Parliament sent out a second proclamation forbidding the publishing of that of the King! By the time the proclamations had been posted, most of the clergy had by that act, if by no other, declared themselves, though not perhaps so openly as did the Rev. Mr. George, vicar of Copel, Beds, who put the issue thus:—"Judge whether I am to obey God or man! By God's word I am commanded to obey the King. I find no such command for the Parliament," upon which he "threw away the two declarations of the Parliament scornfully," and—got committed to Newgate and fined £100 by the Parliament.

In boroughs the posting up of the proclamation was in the hands of the Mayor, and in this summer of 1642, with the King on the point of setting up his standard at Nottingham, the Mayors of Hertford and St. Albans have notions of their own about which proclamation they shall issue, that of the Parliament, or that of the King! In both these important centres the King's proclamation is published, and with Lord Capel and others actively pushing the King's cause, matters are looking dubious for the Parliament. In St. Albans and Hertford there is a powder magazine, the keys of which must be held for Parliament at all costs, even if the dignity of a mayor has to be set aside! And so Mr. Andrew Palmer, mayor of Hertford, and Mr. William Newe, mayor of St. Albans, are "sent for" to attend at the Bar of the House, and there on the 29th of July they appear in person, giving a rather indifferent account of their conduct.

For publishing the King's proclamation against the ordinance of the Militia, and other proclamations for the Commission of Array contrary to the orders of the House, Mr. William Newe, mayor of St. Albans, was first called in and the

Speaker did acquaint him of the complaint. He confessed that he knew there was an ordinance of the Militia, and that he had received an order from Parliament not to publish any proclamation contrary to it. To aggravate his offence in the eyes of Parliament, he was obliged to confess that he published the King's proclamation against levies and contributions, on the very day that the people were coming in from the country to bring their money, horse and plate, though he knew not that it was the day, but that he was "moved to publish the proclamation out of tenderness to his oath." The House resolved that Mr. Newe be committed a prisoner to the Fleet, there to remain during the pleasure of the House.

Next, Mr. Andrew Palmer, mayor of Hertford, was called to the Bar. He confessed that he caused divers proclamations to be published—one against the Militia and one concerning the King's Commission of Array, both before he received any order to the contrary, but afterwards said that he did publish one proclamation after he received orders to the contrary; and the House promptly ordered Mr. Palmer off a prisoner to the King's Bench during the pleasure of the House.

In the Borough records of St. Albans is a detailed account of Mr. Newe's personal expenses during his imprisonment. There was £5 12*s.* for the Sergeant-at-Arms, 7*s.* to his man; for admission to the Fleet prison, 3*s.* 6*d.*; with items for the minister, for plate, for attendance, and even for scavenger! Then there was £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for the Warden of the Fleet, and a fee to the Clerk for his discharge; all of which was surcharged by his brother burgesses in the year's accounts!

It is quite clear from this surcharging of William Newe's accounts that, either from conviction or fear, the rest of the Corporation did not go with him in his Royalist leanings; indeed it might have been unsafe for them to have countenanced his act by paying his expenses, and so they were rigorously disallowed. There was apparently no demonstration of welcome when he was released and came back to St. Albans, for even his coach-hire down from London was disallowed by the Corporation!

The Mayor of Hertford, Andrew Palmer, appears to have been more fortunate in returning to his fellow burgesses, for in his case the item in the Hertford Borough accounts stands: "The charge of my imprisonment, as appears in particulars, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*," and this was not, apparently, surcharged but paid by the Corporation.

Having got rid of the Mayors, the next thing was to secure the powder magazines, and on August 11th the House of Commons ordered "That the magazine of the County of Herts at St. Albans be removed out of the custody in which now it is; and committed to the charge of Mr. J. Robotham; John King, doctor in physic, and Mr. Ralph Pemberton, to preserve it for the service of the county." Four days later, August 15th, it was ordered "that the magazine at Hertford, which belongs to the county, and is there laid up at this time in a place of danger, shall be removed by Gabriel Barber, Isaac Puller, Humphrey Packer, John Dyer, and Joseph Dalton [succeeding Mayor to Palmer], inhabitants of Hertford, into the Town House,† or such other place of safety in the said town of Hertford as shall be thought fitting by them." A further order was made that none of the powder was to be issued without the consent of at least three of the gentlemen named, with this important proviso, which shows how the hundreds and parishes in the county were supplied—"excepting three barrels of powder and proportion of match and bullet, which belongeth and shall be issued out by them to be sent to Buntingford for the use of the Bands of Edwinsi [Edwinstry], and Odsey [Royston] hundreds in the said county of Hertford."

The special reference to the powder magazine at Hertford being "laid up at this time in a place of danger," had a meaning which this order of the House of Commons did not attempt to express, but which had been alarming enough during the past few days, for in the beginning of the month of August one of the News-Letters printed in London had boldly displayed on its front page the alarming words:—

"Terrible newes from Hartford! Discovering the manner how the town was set on fire!"

Turning to the next page of this alarming news-letter, the language is less terrible and is indeed crisp and business-like, for it simply states "that the towne of Hartford was on Friday, the 12th of this month [August, 1642] set on fire

† The "Town House," at Hertford, referred to above, was the first Shirehall of which there is any record. It had been built about forty years before this time on what had been waste ground, and was a curious structure, perched upon "stout wooden pillars so that you might walk under." Beneath the body of the building, and between these wooden pillars, the market was held, and the Courts of Justice were in the building above.

by means of a villan that threw a ball of wild fire into a brewhouse which burnt it down with divers other houses, who presently fled away." [King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus.]

Of course it was the "villan" who fled away, but the event thus quietly recorded was, in the circumstances of the times, alarming enough, and might very well be described as "terrible newes," and of significance enough to take special precautions about the powder magazine, which was apparently located near at hand.

From this 15th of August when the powder magazine was to be removed, matters assumed the form of more open conflict, and just when labourers, old men and boys not in training for the fray, were putting in the sickle for the harvest, the neighbourhood of Hertford, and also of St. Albans, was presenting something of the characteristics of a military camp. In the "Court of Guard," at the entrance to the town of Hertford, there is already a large body of soldiers in reserve for any emergency, and sentries and outposts are doing regular duty to prevent a surprise. This was the more necessary, and also the more difficult at first, owing to the absence of recognised outward distinctions between friends and foes; and as the Cavaliers were known to be in strong force and capable of much mischief around Ware and Hertford, these old towns were in a constant ferment at the sight of every movement of armed men, whose business was not always manifest!

Rather a strong force was mustered at Hertford, and the reason was that though Lord Capel and Sir Thomas Fanshawe were personally away with the King, now about to raise his standard at Nottingham, Sir John Watts, of Mardocks, was taking charge of the Royalist cause about Ware and Hertford, and was daily expected to attack the soldiers who had been mustered for the Parliament. So the Earl of Bedford's troop came to the rescue under the circumstances related in a News-Letter issued at the time from which the following is quoted. The Sir John "Watson" (sic) was Sir John Watts already referred to. The details will show how well the county town was being guarded by armed troops at this early stage of the conflict.

"On Tuesday, the Earle of Bedford's troops (by reason of an alarm from Hartford, that the Cavaliers were within six miles of that Towne), were commanded at one o'clock in the morning to put themselves in a posture of defence, and march towards Hartford, which they, with great willingnesse performed. But on the way towards Hertford, at Hoddesdon, Sir Thomas Dakers [Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheshunt, member for the county in place of Capel], a Parliament man, met them, telling them, he feared they should have a battell betwixt that and Hartford, and, as he thought, near Sir John Watson's house, withall encouraging them to proceed valiantly, intimating the justnesse of the cause, with many noble incouragements; which indeed served but as an addition to that honourable fire that ardently warmed their breasts, the Captains and Souldiers being so truly noble and religiously valiant."

"Having parted from Sir Thomas Dakers, and arriving near the place where this supposed battell should be, Captain Ankle gave command that every man should charge with bullet, and by reason that every man was not accordingly provided, he desired those that were provided to impart to others, promising a supply when they came to the town. Neverthelesse, the Cavaliers appeared not, neither found they any opposition, til they came within sight of the town, where they saw a Court of Guard, and, some three bow-shoots on this side, certain centries: which Captain Ankle seeing, sent out a party to discover what they were: who, coming up to the centries, they demanded the word, and for what cause or pretence they came so? Our party told them they had no command to resolve them any such command, onely that they were sent to demand the cause of their warlike appearance, and for what cause they had taken armes."

In short, they found themselves in the presence of friends instead of enemies! Headed by the sentries, the Captain with a troop of horse was escorted up to the Court of Guard at the entrance to the town, where they found "almost five hundred men completely armed with their muskets presented against them and their pikes * * halfe charged, and at the entry of the town stood the whole Traine-band in full body in war-like equipage! At the Court of Guard where he was demanded the word, which was Prevention: having given it them, he was by them conducted to the second watch, being a company of Pikes with Bowes and Arrowes, they conducted him to the Captain, who demanded by what authority he had brought his Forces to the town?"

"The Captain having satisfied them that they were a troop raised by the Earl of Bedford for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, the laws of the land, the safety of His Majesty's person and the liberty of the subject, &c., and

having intelligence that the town was in danger of being opposed by the Cavaliers * * * they had come to give aid and assistance—this was enough to secure them a hearty welcome by the Hertford soldiers who showed themselves to be such firemen as cannot be bettered" †

While the town of Hertford was thus armed in the cause of Parliament, with its Royalist Mayor, Andrew Palmer, in prison, another scene had occurred around the old Shirehall and the Old Bell Inn (now the Salisbury Arms). Sir John Watts with his Commission of Array to raise troops for the King, we are told, "came to the Bell at Hertford with Sir John Lucy and certain Cavaliers giving out that they intended to put the Commission of Array in execution." This caused the Hertford soldiers just mentioned to arm themselves, "and stand right against the Bell, which the valiant knights perceiving stole out of the Towne." The troops were further reported to be all well-affected to Parliament, and that they marched out daily to exercise, expecting daily to be opposed. It was apparently in consequence of this demonstration of Sir John Watts and other Royalist knights in front of the Old Bell Inn that the town put itself into such a strong position of defence, and the news of which also brought the Earl of Bedford on that midnight march to Hertford!

On Monday, August 29th, a fortnight after the Hertford incident, a troop of Horse, under the command of the Earl of Bedford, with the assistance of some horsemen from London, marched to Hadham Hall, the seat of Lord Capel. There they searched the house and found "Arms sufficient to arme about a thousand men, with ten horses, great saddles, pistols, and carbines."

The same troop next paid a visit to Sir Thomas Fanshawe's, at Ware Park, where they found "two pieces of ordinance, with several barrels of powder, muskets, and pike." It was well-known, however, by the people about Ware that Sir Thomas had been making preparation, and though they could find no more, it was thought "that he is a great deal better provided, having kept two gunsmiths these three months in his house to mend and make arms clean, but for the present they cannot learn where they are bestowed."

† "A Perfect Diurnall of proceedings in Hartfordshire from the 15 August to the 29. Printed for W.M., September 1, 1642." For the loan of a copy of this interesting old News-Letter I am indebted to Mr. Lewis Evans, Hemel Hempstead.

It is not surprising that the writer of the old News-Letter from which I have quoted, who dates his letter from "Hartf. Aug. 29, 1642," should embody in his title "with a true discovery of the great preparation that the said Sir Thomas Fanshawe hath made for the space of three months for some dangerous designe, being one of the Commissioners of Array."

In the town of Ware the inhabitants wake up one morning in this month of August, and find a proclamation stuck upon a post declaring the Parliament's proclamation treason and its agents traitors! Of this little incident, profiting by the experience of Hertford and St. Albans, the Ware people are obliged to take serious note, even though they have no mayor to be carried to the bar of the House. So a number of Ware gentlemen set out for Westminster, and on the 15th of August it is reported that "some gentlemen of Ware were called in, that they had stayed the messenger that fixed a proclamation upon a post in that town, that proclaims the Earl of Essex and all his adherents traitors and rebels, and that they took with him a bag with letters and a cloak bag [with proclamations.]"

Newbolton, the adventurous messenger, who stuck the proclamation on the post, was called in and confessed that "he received the proclamations from the Lord Keeper's own hands with a command to disperse them, and that he left some at Lincoln, Boston, and Cambridge as he came along."

Newbolton gets committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the gentlemen of Ware are called in and thanked "for their good services herein."

THE FIRST GREAT ARMY ON THE MARCH THROUGH HERTFORDSHIRE.—ITS RETURN FROM THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL.

> And broader still became the blaze
> And louder still the din,
> As fast from every village round
> The horse came spurring in!
>
> *Macaulay.*

It was just about the time of the events around Hertford, narrated in the last Chapter, that intelligence arrived of the King's raising his standard at Nottingham on August 22nd, and the reader may very well imagine that during the summer nights, one after another of the old beacon fires along the wild hilly North-West of

the shire, from the lofty Tuthill at Therfield to the Beacon Hill, near Ivinghoe, sent forth their lurid lights, rousing the whole of the county into the wildest excitement; for henceforth war was now certain, and all that marshalling and practising in arms on the village greens was to be put to the test!

Along the great roads northward, Watling Street through St. Albans, and the North Road through Ware and Royston, and along that to the westward through Watford, the peaceful travelling of the malting, hay, and straw carts will give place to the tramp of armed men, marching towards Bedford, Cambridge and Aylesbury. These will be the principal routes for the movement of troops raised in the county of Hertford, and also for those raised in Middlesex and in the Metropolis. Besides this there will be the necessity for small bodies of troops—horsemen employed in checking any little Royalist movement in the bud, or as scouts. No part of the county is likely to be free from the sight of soldiers, and being at first undisciplined and less under the control of superior officers, we shall find them abusing their privileges to the distress and to the terror of the inhabitants.

One of the most memorable scenes connected with the Civil War in the county of Hertford, was the march of the first great Army of the Parliament under the Earl of Essex, from London northwards to meet the King's Army marching from Nottingham.

The Earl of Essex, upon his appointment of Lord General to the Army of the Parliament, appears to have been in a sullen or almost desponding mood. The circumstances were such as to weigh upon any man's feelings, and, like D'Ewes himself, many honourable members may have spared themselves the strangely mingled feelings of being present at the leave-taking of the General, not wishing to see him set off "against his distressed Sovereign, being now reduced to the greatest calamity of any person living, for he had sent twice to the two Houses within this fortnight several submissive messages to crave for peace, which were rejected with infinite scorn and contempt."

Many others besides the Earl of Essex might have shrunk from such a responsible command, but the die is cast and the first great Army to fight for gospel, law and liberty, is on the march northwards, and scarcely anyone in London doubted that "it would make short work with the King and his supporters!" As regiment after regiment of the great Army of 20,000 men marched through Hertfordshire, away from their homes to face the fortunes of war, most of them for the first time in their lives, the scene must have been an impressive one, the like of which had never been witnessed in the county since the Wars of the Roses, if even then.

There was, it is true, but little of the imposing paraphernalia which would be associated with a modern army on the march. There was, for instance, scarcely one scarlet-coated regiment among the lot—the scarlet coats were, I believe a later development of the war. Yet the great, miscellaneous Army was not quite devoid of picturesqueness on this account, for the soldiers of each regiment were clad in green, blue, and even white, as well as grey, just as the fancy of each Colonel dictated, somewhat after the fashion of our modern Volunteer forces, when drawn from different parts of the country. In some cases there may not have been, at first, even these distinctive colours, but just the bare orange sash to distinguish the Parliamentary soldiers from the red-sashed Royalists.

Yet the sight of that first great body of armed men on the march to no one knew what great issues, almost solemn in the impressiveness of its mission, had an inspiring effect upon the enormous masses of the people who witnessed the march through the county! Its appearance at St. Albans must have completely overshadowed all the ordinary life of the place, as regiment after regiment passed up the hill of the legendary "holywell" by the Abbey and along the historic soldiers' way, on towards Redbourn and Dunstable—the old Forum Dianæ towards which legions of Roman soldiers had marched in the "brave days of old."

The soldiers, not yet under the actual control of the General, show their zeal for the cause by entering village churches, destroying Communion rails and Prayer-books, after the fashion of the unruly soldiers who did the like two years before, but under different and more exciting circumstances.

The dramatic element which most aroused the enthusiasm of the county people culminated in the march of the Lord General of the Parliamentary Army, the Earl of Essex, who, accompanied by his staff and select regiments, passes along, silent and moody, but earnest as grim death!—carrying with him his family escutcheon and even his coffin and his shroud, ready for his funeral should fate so order it! The scene was not wanting in brilliance and colour, and a wild

enthusiasm amongst the people, for when on the 9th September the Earl set out from London to St. Albans, we are told that it was "in a way of triumph, that he went out waited on by Parliament, and millions of people lined the highways, attended with the gallantry of his great commanders with such of the nobility and gentry as favoured his design, the multitude crying out 'hosanna'"! [Warburton's Memoirs.]

This enthusiasm was increased by the sight of the Standard bearing the Parliamentary motto, "God with us," † and the orange colours of Parliament, were seen on all hands, relieving the tawny dresses of the crowds of country people who had come out to see the General pass along, and making up the chief part of the bunting floating from the houses in the streets, as the General and his brilliant staff march through St. Albans. On all sides the Parliament's colours were worn, by women as well as men, "until every citizen's dame, to the draggle-tail of her kitchen, had got up that colour of the cause," as a contemporary Royalist [Saunderson's Charles I] writes.

Ponderous and methodical, even in these times when other men are losing their heads, the last of the Devereux, the Earl of Essex, though wanting in the brilliance and dash and never-failing resource of a Fairfax or a Cromwell, is evidently not the man to put his hand to the plough and turn back, and so the dark-featured soldier pushes through St. Albans in rear of his great army with a weight of responsibility such as no other man but the King has at this moment. Beneath that oppressive sense of responsibility there is a fine generous feeling of affection for his men, which came out in the manly speech at the head of his soldiers, "which are at this moment assembled for the defence of his Majesty, and the maintenance of the true Protestant religion." In this speech the Earl of Essex declares his purpose to stand by the soldiers, that even the poorest soldier shall have justice, and promises "neither will I engage any of you into danger, but I will in my own person run an equal hazard with you and either bring you off with honour, or (if God have so decreed) fall with you, and willingly become a sacrifice for the preservation of my country." [Speech of the Earl of Essex at the head of his Army, 24th September, 1642, in *Somers' Tracts.*]

As to what he will require of the soldiers, he lays down the law with equal firmness, and especially that they shall "forbear to profane the Sabbath either by being drunk or by unlawful games," and, like Cromwell, is particularly firm against taking corn and hay, &c., for horses without paying for it.

The feelings of the non-combatants in Hertfordshire as their husbands, brothers, and sons go forth to battle are stirred to their depths, and wild rumours fly about as to what will happen! Echoes of the tramp of armed men along old Watling Street, and glimpses of the animated scene reach Lady Sussex in her seclusion at Gorhambury, which she cannot help committing to paper for our benefit:—

"We have a great store of sogers at Sentabornes came to-night. They say three score carts of ammunition and things for that use, and ten great pieces [artillery] drawn upon wheels, and the Inns of Court gentlemen to guard my Lord's person has come too; they say very fine and well horsed. * * * They talk strange things of my Lord of Essex, that he will fetch the King to London dead or alive; this is high, methinks, for people to talk so. * * * If these sogers be passed I hope we shall have no more to frighten us."

Alas! poor lady, there will be no end of them for some years to come, and this is but the beginning of your troubles!

While that great Army is marching towards Northampton, some final messages pass between King and Parliament, but when both sides professed to be standing up for the Protestant religion, when Parliament persisted in the view, that the King was being supported by and encouraged papists, and the King, in addressing his soldiers, spoke of the Parliamentary party as "no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, anabaptists and atheists," there was evidently little hope of avoiding a collision, and so the Earl of Essex had to follow his Army in his sombre mood and misgivings for the future.

Soon after this there came the first flush of excitement from the news of Edgehill battle, and after that a short time of suspense as to what will happen, more especially in London and the adjoining counties. The two great armies, neither of which has been annihilated by the first great battle, are known to be marching on London. Almost in parallel lines they are marching, and sometimes within such a short

† On the reverse of the standard was the motto, *Cave adsum* [Beware—I am here!] out of which the wit of the Cavaliers made fine fun on those rare occasions when they found the Parliamentary soldiers in full retreat!

distance of each other that the camp fires by night and tidings of their movements by day become familiar to the inhabitants of towns and villages on the boarders of Oxfordshire, Bucks, and Beds. The watchmen at the old beacons along the Chiltern hill-tops which shut in the county of Hertford—from the Wendover hills to Royston—are standing ready by night with tinder-box, flint, and steel in hand watching and waiting to flash the broad intelligence throughout Hertfordshire of the approach of the armies towards the Metropolis, where panic prevails and chains are being thrown across the streets!

Day by day the march goes on, and each army draws nearer the Capital without any sign of hostility, or any evidence of that victory claimed by both parties at Edgehill. The King's Army has the better array of gallant knights at its head, but its rank and file is about as unpromising as can be, and already gives evidence of that terrible strait for equipment which reduced some of the men to the necessity of fighting with cudgels at the first battle, and of marching without shoe or stocking as some of them did in the later stages of the fight. On the other hand, the Earl of Essex's Army with a less brilliant staff has the better equipment, but at present the worse fighting material. Thus the two great armies, only twenty miles from each other, both marched for the same goal, and "gave not the least disquiet to each other."

Before the rival armies had left the battle-field at Edgehill, the news spread citywards, and it is asserted by Clarendon [History of the Rebellion] of those who fled when the first charge was made that "though it was past two of the clock [Sunday, Oct. 23rd, 1642] before the battle begun, many of the soldiers and some commanders of no mean name were at St. Albans, which was near thirty miles from the field, before it was dark." These men, "as all runaways do for their own excuse, reported all for lost, and the King's Army to be so terrible that it could not be encountered! Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cause, reported the progress of the battle, and presented all those lamentable things * * which their terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they run away; some had seen the Earl of Essex slain, and heard his dying words—'that everyone should shift for himself, for all resistance was to no purpose.'" Whether it was one of these runaways or one who had given a better account of himself, I know not, but in the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter's parish, St. Albans, one from Edgehill does actually figure in this fashion:—"Given to a soldier that came from Edgehill, 5*s*. 0*d*."

This was the kind of news of the first great shock of war which travelled through Hertfordshire until the despatch from the Earl of Essex himself arrived, and other news upon which victory was claimed for both sides.

In about six short weeks after that first imposing march, the streets of St. Albans are again filled with people from all the country side to see the return of that great army, now somewhat broken and shattered by the Keinton fight,† as, apparently, it again passes through St. Albans for London, which is waiting in terrible anxiety the issue of whether the King or Essex with their armies will reach London first!

With the two armies within a day's march of London and of each other, and another great battle expected, the inhabitants of the two counties of Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire are in dread and suspense, intensified by rumours of plundering and outrage by Prince Rupert's troops, and the uncertainty as to where the King's forces actually are. That they are marching towards London is believed to be certain, and a meeting of the two armies in a battle somewhere about the western corner of Hertfordshire seems so likely that even the Earl of Essex finds it necessary to appeal to Buckinghamshire under the circumstances set forth in the following communication addressed by him to the county committee and deputy lieutenants of that county, just as he is departing from Woburn, Beds, for St. Albans; a design to obstruct the King's forces should he be marching through Buckinghamshire and West Herts on to London:—

"I have received advertisements that the King's forces are advancing towards London, and that the counties through which they pass are very much oppressed by their cruelty and outrage; and I have thought it fit to desire you to use all possible care and diligence to secure the magazine of the county, and that such forces of Horse and Foot within the county as are raised do forthwith march towards the town of

† Ludlow himself says in his Memoirs: "Our Army, after some refreshment at Warwick, returned to London, not like men who had obtained a victory but as if they had been beaten."

St. Albans in the county of Hertford to-morrow, the 5th November, whither I am now advancing with the army under my command and shall be ready to assist you in whatever may most conduce to the public safety."

[Original papers of the Marquis of Buckingham in appendix to *Seward's Anecdotes.*]

Upon that very same night the Earl of Essex arrives at St. Albans, and one of the first claims upon his excellency comes from Lady Sussex and her "good old lord," at Gorhambury, and the following document signed by the Earl of Essex at St. Albans the same night, Nov. 4th, is the result :—

"To all Colonels, &c., and other officers and soldiers in my command and to all others whom it may concern—a protection for the Earl of Sussex to prevent the plundering of his house, &c. at Gorhambury."

Under stress of war all round, other persons begin to think of what will happen to their private affairs lest they should get into wrong hands. But protection orders are not always of use if obtained, and strategy has to take the place of business. About the time that Lady Sussex has got that little document to keep at bay a hungry army, Lord Capel, to make up for that loss of arms for a thousand men taken from Hadham Hall, makes further sacrifice for the King. His Hertfordshire estates are already in the clutches of Parliament, but not so those in the West of England. But time is pressing, and how to get a letter to the Royalists in that quarter without discovery is a matter of some risk. So his lordship having written a letter to the "Cornwall Cavaliers" giving them power to receive and gather up all his rents in the West country, hit upon the expedient of concealing the letter in a hollow stick and entrusting the stick to a messenger ! But "by great accident this hollow stick and the concealed letter were intercepted, and brought to the Parliament, who promptly saved Lord Capel and the Cornwall Cavaliers all trouble in collecting the rents by sequestering all his rents there." [*Perfect Diurnall*, Nov. 7, 1642.]

Having got protection for her house, so far as Parliamentary troops are concerned, Lady Sussex ventured to leave her good old Lord at Gorhambury with the servants while she enjoys the novelty of a perilous journey to London to look at the shops ! But she is so depressed by the fighting aspect of things everywhere that she exclaims "truly as I passed through London methought it looked like a most desolate place and so many soldiers at every gate with a cannon, that it frightened me to pass by as I came from Fisher's Folly." She soon gets back to Gorhambury, coming home "down Watfart way," and having the good fortune to meet with no soldiers after leaving "Tiborne." But her Ladyship only came back to increased trouble, for the Royalist troops are beginning to carry things with a high hand in some parts of the county ; and to strengthen their party so much as to cause alarm among the people.

Writing on November 9th, by which time the Earl of Essex's army had probably moved away from St. Albans, Lady Sussex says "if there be so little hopes of peace we are like all to be in a most miserable condition. I am making up all my doors, or as many as I can. to keep my house safe ; my servants give me hopes that we are able to keep out a hundred if they come upon us * * I hear my Lady Loveles was plundered almost to her smock and her house the same night."

The dread of plundering from the soldiers increased, the name of Prince Rupert having already gained an ill repute in this direction.

Lady Sussex, the shrewd match-making, marrying, but cautious Parliamentarian, writes again in her brusque, vigorous English and shockingly bad spelling, from Gorhambury, to the Verneys, of Claydon House, near Winslow, Bucks :—

"My fear is most of prince ropperte [Rupert] for tho say he hath littill mercy when he comes. I am hear in as sade a condisyon as may bee. i have made up some of the dors and pilede them up so with wode that i belive my hose is able to keepe out a good many now ; if wee escape plonderinge i shall account it a great marsy of god ; the are all about us hear in such grivus fears that if they see but a gentellman ridinge they think it is to robe them."

THE BATTLE OF BRENTFORD—LADY SUSSEX AND HER FOUR HUSBANDS.—THE TEMPER OF HERTFORDSHIREMEN.

The war, that for a space did fail,
Now trebly thundering swell'd the gale.
Scott.

In those same dull November days in which we have seen Hertfordshire folk barricading their doors and preparing for a siege, the state of things alarmed others besides Lady Sussex, and especially the inhabitants of the Western parts of the county. It was well known that the

Royalist gentry of the county—Lord Capel, Lord Falkland, Sir John Watts, the Fanshawes, the Butlers, Thomas Coningsby, of North Mimms, the Fotherbys, and Sir Charles Herbert, of Rickmansworth—had carried with them not a few of the young men of birth in the county, and with them were able to make a brave show for Hertfordshire before the King now drawing near to London.

The King's troops had reached Colnbrook, some of them over-ran the West of Hertfordshire and were encountered by a part of the Earl of Essex's troops at Watford, and in a skirmish twelve of the Cavaliers were taken prisoners, in which apparently the Watford Volunteers played a conspicuous part. But the Watford Volunteers had scarcely got into such armour as was available when there came from the borders of the county, out Rickmansworth way—

> The terrible grumble, rumble and roar
> Telling the battle was on once more.
> * * * * * *
> And wider still those billows of war
> Thundered along the horizon's bar!

As night came on, the Watford and Rickmansworth folk and those in the Western parts of the county found no sleep, and their excitement was increased when there came the rumour of plundering by Prince Rupert's troops at Colnbrook, somewhat highly coloured in a Parliamentary news-letter stating that "Having done his pleasure to the inhabitants he [Prince Rupert] repaired to the Catherine Wheel for the night, swearing that he will go to London, that he cares not a pin for its Roundheads, but that he will lay their city and inhabitants on the ground."—[*Horrible News from Colebrook.*]

Here is the explanation of it all. The King on his arrival with his Army at Colnbrook stayed two nights, and received overtures from Parliamentary Commissioners, to which his Majesty returns answer "calling God to witnesse in many protestations," how tenderly compassionate he is of "his bleeding people and of his desire of a speedy peace."

But nothing came of these pacific expressions, and so the King's artillery advanced forward "with divers troops of horse thorow the towne of Colebrooke," after the Parliament force towards London, and "taking advantage of a great mist which happened that Friday night they marched to Brainford [Brentford] and fell upon the Parliamentary forces which were there quartered. * * Of them the King's forces killed many, and had quite destroyed all in probability if Lord Brooke's and Col. Hampden's regiments, billetted not farre off, had not made haste to their relief, who coming in maintained a great and bloody fight against the King's forces where many were slaine on both sides, and many taken prisoners, both parties, as before had happened at Keynton Battell, esteeming themselves conquerors. The newes of this unexpected fight was soon brought to London whither also the noise of the great artillery was easily heard."

The Earl of Essex had gone up from St. Albans to London, and was in the House of Lords when the raging of the battle was heard, and he immediately left with all the troops he could muster on a sudden, only to find that night had parted the opposing forces when he reached Brentford. "All that night the City of London powred out men towards Brainford * * and all the lords and gentlemen belonging to the Army were there ready on the Sunday morning, being the 14th November; a force great enough to have swallowed up a farre greater army than the King had. Besides, the King's forces were encompassed on every side in so much that a great hope was conceived by most men that the period of this sad warre was now come."

But the Parliamentary commanders were over anxious to increase their strength at the expense of their strategy, and "a fatal doore was opened to let out the inclosed King" by the removal of three thousand soldiers from Kingston round by and across London Bridge, the King escaping at the point left unprotected.

The Hertfordshire Royalists came back from the Brentford battle with greater assurance than at any time since the beginning of the fray, openly boasting of their victory; and even the clergy, it is alleged, taunted their Parliamentary parishioners and threw in their teeth this rout at Brentford as it was then called; reminding one of Butler's lines:

> And though you overcame the bear
> The dogs beat you at Brentford Fair.

On the 19th November, a few days after the Brentford battle, Lady Sussex writes of what is being done within the county of Hertford to insure its safety:

"This country [county] is raising two hundred Dragooners. They say they must be to ride up and down for the safety of the country [county] and to give notice if any forces come in that they may prepare to defend themselves."

On December 1st there was a great rendezvous of 8,000 men from Hertfordshire, Beds, Bucks, and other counties at High Wycombe, and the

Earl of Essex "determined to slip no opportunity of falling upon the King's forces." This demonstration was not without good cause, for the whole of the country between Oxford and London was specially threatened about this time, and even while the Hertfordshire Train-Bands are away at the rendezvous at Wycombe, the Western part of Hertfordshire is over-run with Cavaliers of whom on the 9th December Lady Sussex writes from Gorhambury to Sir Ralph Verney.

"I hear from a messenger that went into Bucingamsher that there was near 4,000 of the Cavaliers within a mile of Aldbury, and told me Prince Robbert [Rupert] was there." †

This was of interest to Sir Ralph, if only for the fact that Aldbury, near Tring, had been in the Verney family for generations, and that here many members of the family were buried, and to whose memory monuments are still to be seen in the Parish Church of Aldbury.

Four days after the intelligence of this large body of Cavaliers in the west of the county, there comes the further intelligence that "the King's troops have driven much cattle out of Bucingamsher."

Two important acts come out of the contact of Hertfordshire Royalists with the King and his forces at Colnbrook, and that terrible and indistinguishable night's work in the November fog at Brentford. One of them is a civil and the other a military affair. The King, remembering the services of the rigorous levier of Ship-money, writes a flattering letter "from our Court at Reading to our trusty and well-beloved" Thomas Coningsby, of North Mimms, informing him "we have at present made choice of you to be our High Sheriff of our county of Hertford," and thereby hangs another tale of unpleasant future consequence to Mr. Coningsby.

To Lord Capel is a still more important commission entrusted. The most needful thing just now is money, and that not in mere driblets such as could be obtained by knocking down those wooden barricades of Lady Sussex's at Gorhambury, even if Lord Capel had the disposition to molest his neighbours, which, apparently, he had not, though his own estates have been appropriated. To Lord Capel is therefore entrusted the important commission of securing, if possible, the support of the University of Cambridge, with all its wealth of plate. So the gallant, well-mounted body of horsemen, under Lord Capel and other Hertfordshire Royalists, is drawn away to the north of the county about Royston, where, being close to his neighbours around Hadham and Ware, he is able to strengthen his forces.

The Hertfordshire people, who had been hoping and fearing the issue of a battle so close to their borders, were now at the mercy of

† Lady Sussex would have been an interesting character in any age, as the wife of four husbands—first a baronet, and then three earls in succession, and for that reason is described in the Verney MSS. as "Old men's wife." First, she married Sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley, from whose family Sir Walter Scott took, or rather made, the Sir Henry Lee in the pages of *Woodstock*. Upon his death she married Lord Sussex, an infirm old Earl, who had to do duty by proxy at the "hupper hose," as Lady Sussex called the House of Lords. Together they hired Gorhambury of Sir Thomas Mewtys, to whom it had descended from Lord Chancellor Bacon. Upon the death of the old Earl, she married two Parliamentary commanders, first the Earl of Warwick, and after his death the Earl of Manchester. The numerous letters written by Lady Sussex from Gorhambury to her friends, the Verneys, of Claydon, and especially to Sir Ralph Verney, member for Aylesbury, throw an extremely interesting light upon the social life of the period. These letters have been preserved in the remarkable collection of Verney MSS. at Claydon House, from which, as reproduced in the reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (Report No. 7), most of the extracts I have made are taken; excepting where the extracts are given in Lady Sussex's strange mixture of phonetic and home-made spelling. In these cases I am indebted to the *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Civil War*, in which Lady Verney, the author, has preserved many letters from Lady Sussex in their native dress, and has produced one of the most fascinating of books. Amidst all the excitement of great processions of Hertfordshire freeholders to Parliament, and the beginnings of an armed populous Lady Sussex was intent upon getting her picture painted by Vandyke! When at last the picture does, after infinite trouble and precautions, get safely to "sentarbornes" (St. Albans), and to Gorhambury, Lady Sussex makes this comment:—"The face is so bige and so fate [fat] that it pleases me not at all * * If ever i cum to London befor Sir Vandicke goo i will get him to mende my picture, for thou I bee ill favourede, i think that makes me wors than I am"! She entrusts Sir Ralph Verney, to whom much of her voluminous correspondence is addressed, with commissions of all sorts, and in doing her duty to her "good olde Lord," She thanks Sir Ralph for sending down "chise" [cheese] which is so very good that I am very sori i can ate non of it." She even tells him about her troubles in getting coals from Bushey to Gorhambury, and begs him to look out for pretty patterns in lace, damask, etc., and, womanlike, not that she has any present use for it, but "truly tis so very good and chepe i will buy it for use hereafter." When times press more hardly she commissions her friend to sell the dishes which she had hidden away, and tells him "i hope you may get fore and a leven penes hapeny an once for them."

growing masses of soldiers around their homes, and, like Lady Sussex, were barricading their doors and obtaining such protection as was open to them. Before the end of December, 1642, the bulk of the people of the county are thoroughly roused, and in large numbers draw up a remonstrance — possibly coloured a little by recent events, and still more from rumours abroad—against the plundering which has been experienced from the Royalist bodies of troops got together within the county. In this remonstrance they set forth that—

"It is notoriously known to all how great the violence, oppressions, plunderings, and insolencies that the King's Army daily exercise upon the people, whereby not only our religion is in imminent danger of being altered to Popery [that was the rub, for Puritan Hertfordshire !], and all our just privileges overthrown, but our wives ravished, our children murdered, our estates ruined. We therefore have associated ourselves and taken up arms, with full resolution to prosecute the enemies of our religion and country, and do hereby solemnly protest and covenant before God, and with one another, that we willingly and resolutely sacrifice our lives in this religious and just quarrel, and that we will never lay down our arms till this, which is called the King's Army, be dissolved."

So much for the temper of the bulk of Hertfordshire men, who remain on the Parliament side. Whatever amount of truth there may have been in this petition and complaints against the Royalists, the cause of the King just now depends upon other work than frightening women in their homes, or even upon isolated acts of plundering, though there were these no doubt.

In order to understand the divided feeling of the county it is necessary to distinguish between what was put forward in the name of the inhabitants of the county, and the extent to which it reflected the feeling of the county. The foregoing petition, with its strong language, did no doubt reflect the fears of the great majority of the people of the county, and perhaps the experiences of others, but it was possible to get up petitions, of a different colour, also in the name of the inhabitants of the county. Thus, almost immediately after the above petition to Parliament, there was drawn up a Hertfordshire petition to the King. To some extent it may have reflected the opinions of many moderate men in the county, in their desire for peace, but it was not a county petition in any official sense.

"The humble petition of the inhabitants of the County of Hertford" was presented to the King, apparently at Oxford, and was as follows :—

"To the King's most excellent Majesty. The humble petition of your Majesty's subjects, within your County of Hertford, Humbly sheweth :—Your Majesty's most loyal subjects and petitioners, being very sensible of the effusion of blood lately made betwixt your Majesty's own subjects, and of the great calamities likely to ensue upon this unnatural Civill War, unlesse by your Majestie's clemency and mercy it be forthwith stayed, your subjects being in short time likely to fall into great misery and want, as well by reason of the decay of trading as also by the violence and rapine of unruly and dissolute multitudes which hope to raise themselves by the ruine of your Majestie's good subjects."

"Therefore your Majesty's subjects and petitioners do in all humility addresse themselves unto your royal Majesty, earnestly desiring that all hostility may cease, and that some means of accommodation and peace may be obtained, whereby God's honour and the true Protestant religion may be maintained, your Majesty's sacred person, honour and estate, preserved, and your Parliament's just privileges with the laws of this your realm upheld and put in execution that so your people, being freed from their feares and secured in their estates may, with hand and heart testifie their obedience, both to God and their King, and your subjects shall daily pray for your Majestie's long and happy reign over us."

The King in his reply said he "so far concurs with them [the petitioners] that they do not more desire to receive than his Majesty doth to grant all they aske of him," and specially recognised "the honest and loyal care of the safety of his Majesty's person (a thing so far from being of late regarded that God onely hath preserved him from being destroyed by the bloody hands of rebels) and his Majesty doubts not but that the petitioners know from what foundation they have sprung, and by the grievances and pressures exercised upon their own county, in which his Majesty cannot be suspected of having the least hand, will quickly discern that when that part of the law which should defend his Majesty is so easily mastered and trodden down, the other part which should

secure his subjects will sensibly moulder away and give them up to the same violence." [King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. E., 84, 39.] A similar petition was presented from the county of Bedford from petitioners numbering 3,800.

While the above was happening in Hertfordshire Lord Capel, in the last days of December, 1642, and the first days of January, 1643, had drawn together a large body of Horse along the north of Hertfordshire towards Cambridge, sufficient to spread alarm through all the neighbouring counties, the object of his movement being Cambridge, the most important position in the Eastern Counties.

Urgent notice goes down from the Parliament to the towns of Saffron Walden and Cambridge to put themselves in a posture of defence. For Cambridge this is not needed, for there are at least three members on the Parliament side, though Mr. Chichley, of Wimpole Hall, near Royston, has gone to Oxford. Cromwell is moving heaven and earth, as it were, and, having notice of Lord Capel's design to fall upon and plunder Cambridge, that town "stood upon its guard." The vigorous measures of Cromwell to hold Cambridge against Capel resulted in a vast gathering of Volunteer troops there, variously estimated at 14,000 to 30,000 [Cooper's Annals of Cambridge gives the latter number], gathered from the neighbouring counties of Herts, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and the classic Athenæ on the Cam is a scene of indescribable commotion never before witnessed since the Danish footprints and firemarks were left there. Lord Capel finding himself overmatched by sheer force of numbers, and "having notice that there were little hopes of effecting his design there without opposition or gaining honour without blows, thought it more policy to dispense with his honour in that service than purchase it at so dear a rate, and hath deserted the attempt and steered his course a contrary way to join with Prince Rupert." [Perfect Diurnal, in Cromwelliana.]

CROMWELL ON THE SCENE.—A HERTFORDSHIRE COUNCIL OF WAR.

> We hear amidst our peaceful homes,
> The summons of the conscript drums,
> The bugle's call!

But though Lord Capel had been out-numbered and compelled to retire from the neighbourhood of Cambridge, the display of force by which that had been accomplished had no such a permanent fighting element in it as is now being urgently demanded on all hands for the prosecution of the War; and so Hertfordshire sets about organising its means of offence and defence. The vigorous preparation in Hertfordshire is really a part of the great work of the Eastern Association which is rapidly taking shape under conditions which, when the time comes, will turn the fortunes of War, for there on the borders of Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire is a type of Whittier's *Reformer* already at his task:—

> All grim and soiled and brown with tan,
> I saw a strong one in his wrath,
> Smiting the Godless shrines of men,
> Along his path.

Though yet unknown to fame, there is no man doing more vigorous work for Parliament than the farmer of St. Ives, Oliver Cromwell. A few glimpses of him as he passes swiftly to and fro, between Huntingdon, Cambridge, Ely, or through Hertfordshire to London, from St. Neots, will show us something of that indomitable will, untiring zeal, mastery of details, and stern sense of justice, which characterised his work. How much these counties owed to the tireless energy of Cromwell in the incipient stage of the conflict, may be gathered from these brief scraps, from his letters and orders:—

"June, 1642. I have sent you by Hobbes's wain those you know of. * * You must get lead as you may. * * The Churches have enough and to spare on them. * * Pray beat up those sluggards—I shall be over, if it please God, next Tuesday or Wednesday. * * Throw off fear, as I shall be with you. * * Let the saddler see to the horse gear. * * If a man has not good weapons, he is as naught. * * Tell W—— I will not have his men cut folk's grass without proper compensation. * * I have no great mind to take Montague's word about that farm. [Montague commands the St. Neots Troop]. I learn, behind the oven is the place they hide them [the arms]; so watch well and take what the man leaves; and hang the fellow out-a-hand, and I am your warrant; for he shot a boy at Pilton-bee, by the spinney; the Widow's son, her only support: so God and man must rejoice at his punishment. * * Call at ——, I learn he has got a case of arms down; fetch them off, but move not his old weapons of his Father's or his family trophies. Be tender of this, as you respect my wishes of one gentleman to another. * * * 81 is playing fox; life and property is lost by such villains. If resistance is given, pistol him. No nonsense can be

held with such; he is as dangerous as a mad bull. * * [Mentions loss in killed and wounded in an affray, "all through his mischief."]

"Send on word to Biggleswade, to hasten those slow fellows. We are upon no child's play. * * The East Foot (from Suffolk) are come in, to some 600 men, I learn. Say so to those Biggleswade dormice. * * Our smiths are hard on work at shoes. Press me four more smiths as you come on; I must have them, yea or nay. Say I will pay them fee and let go after shoeing. * * *

"I can hear nothing of the man that was sent me out of Suffolk and Essex. I fear he is gone off with the money. If so our means are straitened beyond my power to redeem. * * I got the money out of Norfolk last Friday: it came as usual, ill: also the Hertfordshire money. * * I fear those men from Suffolk are being tried sorely by money from certain parties—whom I will hang, if I catch playing their tricks in my quarters, by law of arms I will serve them.

"* * Tell Captain Russell my mind on his men's drinking the poor man's ale and not paying. I will not allow any plunder; so pay the man and stop their pay to make it up. I will cashier officers and men if such is done in the future. Let me see you by noon time, as I leave after dinner for Cambridge.

"* * W—— is returned [from Suffolk]. They are all fit to burst at news come in, and I much fear will break out. So I am now going over to clip their wings. I shall be back in five days if all be well." †

This was a kind of mettle destined to tell in the coming struggle, and it is impossible to say how much this incessant riding to and fro of a man, influential in his own county, and born to command in wider issues, determined the character of the War and the line of conduct of the Eastern counties. The effect of it was either to "clip the wings" of many a Royalist movement, or to drive out would-be leaders of such movements away to the North and West to co-operate with the larger bodies of the King's troops, leaving Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, and the other counties of the Eastern Association the more free to meet the calls of the Parliamentary Army.

While Cromwell was riding post haste beating up the Fen men in their "tawny" (brown) coats, and generally displaying that astonishing amount of resistless energy indicated by the above extracts, and Alban Cox was courageously seconding those efforts in Hertfordshire, Lord Capel had been a very considerable thorn in Cromwell's side. With the "Camdeners" pressing hard on the Lincolnshire side of the Fens, and Lord Capel on the south side, even Cambridge, which is now getting fortified, since Cromwell seized the Castle in August, had been for some time in a position which required all Cromwell's energy and strong will before it could safely become the undisputed head-quarters of the Parliamentarians of East Anglia, which it was destined to be.

The counties of Hertford, Cambridge, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, in the Eastern Counties Association, are specially mentioned in May's *History of the Long Parliament* as being kept from the beginning "without any great combustion," and it is added that, "This great happinesse of peace and quiet that they enjoyed may be supposed to flow from the unanimity of their affections. There was as much unanimity of opinion and affection in those counties among the people in general as was to be found in any part of England, but it was especially among the common people."

He adds, however, that it was certain that many of the chief gentry in these counties "bended in their affections to the King's Commission of Array," but as the freeholders and yeomen in general adhered to the Parliament, those gentlemen who attempted to draw forces together or provide arms for the King "were soon curbed and all their endeavours crushed at the beginning by those of the other side; especially by the great wisdom and indefatigable industry of Master Oliver Crumwell."

Certainly the counties of Hertford and Bedford, and to some extent Cambridge, could hardly claim all the immunity from strife which is indicated by the foregoing. To carry on their share of the War successfully, the organisation of means and resources became a first necessity. The King had to rely upon what could be done by his Commissions of Array, entrusted in Hertfordshire to the Royalist leaders whose names have been already mentioned. On the other hand Parliament had an organisation almost ready to hand, which was capable of being made

† These glimpses of Cromwell at the opening of the strife are disclosed chiefly by the "Squire Papers," made public by Carlyle [*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*]. Though their genuineness has never been absolutely proved, their general harmony with other sources of information makes it exceedingly unlikely that they could have been altogether spurious.

immensely superior. Primarily, Parliament by a bold stroke brought itself in touch with the lieutenancy of the county, and made use of the members for the county, but a more representative body soon became necessary to discharge the military and civil functions of raising soldiers and assessing the inhabitants in levying contributions, while to this had to be added later another function of sequestrating the estates of "delinquents" or Royalists in arms for the King. For these three separate functions three Committees were appointed, and upon these Committees many of the leading Hertfordshire families of the time were represented. As many of the same names occur on each of the Committees, the following list may be considered to fairly represent the Council of War for the county of Hertford.

Atkins, Edward, Esq., Sergeant-at-law.
*Barber, Gabriel, Esq.
Cecil, Robert, Esq.
Combes, Toby, or Tobias
Cranborne, Lord Viscount.
Dacres, Sir Thomas, Knight.
Faircloth, Litton, Esq.
*Freeman, Ralph, Esq.
*Garrard, Sir John, Bart.
Harrison, Sir John.
*Heydon, John, Esq.
Humberston, John, sen., Gent.
Jennings, Richard, Esq.
*King, Dr. John.
*Leman, William, Esq.
Litton, Rowland, Esq.
Litton, Sir Wm., Knight.
Lucy, Sir Richard, Knight.
Marsh, John, Gent.
Mayor of St. Albans for the time being.
Mayor of Hertford for the time being.
Mead, Thos., Gent.
*Mewtys, Henry, Esq.
Morton, Gravely, Esq.
Pemberton, John, Esq.
*Pemberton, Ralph, Esq.
*Porter, Richard, Esq.
*Priestly, Wm., Esq.
Puller, Isaac, Gent.
*Reed, Sir John, Bart.
Robotham, John, Esq.
Sadler, Thomas, Esq.
*Scroggs, John, Esq.
Tooke, John, Esq.
*Tooke, Thomas, Esq.
*Washington, Adam, Esq.
*Wilde, Alexander, Esq.
Wingate, Edward, Esq.
*Wittewrong, Sir John, Knight.

* Those marked with an asterisk were elected to serve on the Central Committee or Grand Council of War, sitting at Cambridge for the Eastern Counties Association, viz., Herts, Cambs, Hunts, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.

It may be of interest to identify some of the leading figures in the above list of Hertfordshire men.

Edward Atkins was, in 1644, steward of the Court of the Borough of Hertford in place of John Keyling, junr. (the ardent Royalist, whom we have already met), and in 1660 was knighted and made one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Gabriel Barber was a justice of the peace for the Borough of Hertford, occupying the old house known as the Lombard House, now Mr. J. Harrington's house, at the bottom of Bull Plain.

Robert Cecil was the second son of the Earl of Salisbury, and member of Parliament for Old Sarum.

Toby, or Tobias Combes, was a Hemel Hempstead man, and was High Sheriff in the year the King was executed—1649.

Sir Thomas Dacres, who had been knighted by Charles I., lived at Cheshunt, and Ralph Freeman (High Sheriff in 1636) lived at Aspenden; Sir John Garrard was of Lamer, Wheathampstead, High Sheriff on the removal of Thomas Coningsby.

Sir John Harrison, of Balls Park, Hertford, was the head of one of the most interesting families of the time, if only for his interesting daughter. Sir John and his family we shall find presently in very different company and in different circumstances from the wealth and splendour of his then establishment at Balls Park.

John Heydon, evidently one of the Heydon family of the Grove, Watford, who had, until within a few years of this time, held that manor for several generations, one of them, Francis Heydon, having been High Sheriff in 1583.

John Humberston, one of the family who had for generations lived at Walkern Park.

Richard Jennings, of St. Albans, and William Leman, of Northaw, we have met already as members of Parliament for St. Albans and Hertford respectively.

Sir Richard Lucy lived at Broxbourne, John Marsh was of Shenley, and a magistrate.

Sir William Litton, or Lytton, of Knebworth, afterwards knight of the shire, at whose house at Knebworth it is said Hampden, Elliott, Pym, and other Parliamentarians often met to concert their measures for advancing the cause of Parliament.

The Mayor of St. Albans for 1643 was Edward Fames, and of Hertford Joseph Dalton (second year).

Henry Mewtys was of Gorhambury, where he was preceded by Lord Chancellor Bacon and succeeded by the Grimstons.

John and Ralph Pemberton were of St. Albans. Ralph became the father of Chief Justice Pemberton.

William Priestly, of Essendon (Camfield), was High Sheriff in 1634.

Isaac Puller was a justice of the peace for the borough of Hertford, whom we have already met; Sir John Reed was of Hatfield, and John Robotham of St. Albans.

John Scroggs was of Aldbury, and the Tookes were of Popes, Essendon.

Adam Washington, of Beaches, Brent Pelham, was recommended to Cromwell as "Colonel Washington, a very honest hearted man."

Alexander Wilde was a magistrate of Grumbalds, near Ware.

Edward Wingate, of St. Albans, a spirited soldier who is destined to meet with hard fortunes during the War, and to become a member of Parliament for St. Albans.

Sir John Wittewrong was of Rothamstead, a notable man, whose family had fled from persecution in Flanders to England, whom we shall meet again.

For the most part these various Committeemen remained consistent supporters of Parliament all through the struggle, with the exception of one or two already indicated.

For the Grand Committee sitting at Cambridge members of the Herts Committee had to go there to reside in their turn of 14 days each, with members of the Committees of the other counties. It was an anxious time for the associated counties, for, says the order appointing the above Committee, "the Earl of Newcastle, with his whole army, since the surrender of Gainsborough is marching towards and ready to fall upon the associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertford and Huntingdon." On this Central Committee at Cambridge, of which at present Oliver Cromwell, the honourable member for Cambridge, is a member and the controlling spirit, the first Hertfordshire delegates to take their turn of service were Henry Mewtys, of Gorhambury, and Ralph Freeman, of Aspenden.

The Grand Committee of delegates from each county sitting at Cambridge were afterwards allowed 35*s*. a week each "towards his charge in attendance to the publick service." Sometimes they were called to London to consider special business of national importance with which the Association was for the time connected.

In the month of May, 1643, the county of Huntingdon was united to Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire and other counties of the Eastern Association of which it became afterwards known as the frontier county in the strategic plans of the Association, and a turbulent and troublesome county it sometimes proved, "because of the fears and distractions of that county and the incursions of the plundering enemy which occasioneth extraordinary disbursements of money of which the Committee of that County is utterly unprovided."—[*Lords Journals.*]

But it is time we returned to the military side of affairs more immediately affecting the county of Hertford, where, in our next chapter, we shall meet with Cromwell again under circumstances of peculiar interest.

STIRRING SCENES IN HERTFORDSHIRE.—CROMWELL CAPTURES THE HIGH SHERIFF IN ST. ALBANS MARKET!

The yeomen round the market-cross make clear an ample space;
For there behoves him to set up the standard of his grace.

Macaulay.

The danger to the Eastern Counties, and especially to Cambridge, arising from Lord Capel's movements around Royston and the North of Hertfordshire having now passed away, with the opening days of January, 1643, the bulk of that famous muster of Volunteers at Cambridge were allowed to go back home to be ready when called upon; a thousand men being left to do garrison duty at Cambridge, where the fortifications are still being pushed forward amain.

As the open conflict developed the number of Royalists among the Hertfordshire gentry had increased. Since that unanimous protest about grievances, things have altered somewhat. When the Laudian attempt to crush Puritanism had recoiled on itself, the re-action to the other extreme in which Puritan champions, yeomen and mechanics, set up their notions of theology above that of the Established Church, many of the gentry parted company with the great body of the people, repelled by the extreme deliverances on religious affairs on the one hand, and attracted by the instincts of chivalry to the side of the King on the other.

Not only had the powerful body of Hertfordshire gentry that had rallied around Lord Capel, an influential following in the county, but others on the border were moving from the old moorings. Sir Francis Crawley, of Luton "sometime Judge of Common Pleas, being assistant to the House of Lords," obtained their leave at that memorable Christmas "to go to his house at

Luton, Co. Beds.," and while away from all Parliamentary restraints yields to the seductive influence of old traditions, and on New Year's Day, 1643, receives the King's summons to Oxford, and returns no more to his post at the House of Lords, but goes to Oxford and afterwards resides there and elsewhere in the King's quarters, for which action he will be called to account in later times.

On the 2nd of January, 1643, when the Parliament's force was ordered to drive the King's forces from Brill, in Buckinghamshire—a famous natural stronghold and outpost between the Vale of Aylesbury and Oxford—in order to prevent their threatened march into Hertfordshire, the well-affected persons in the latter county were requested to raise such forces of Horse and Foot as they could to march to Aylesbury for this service. But the Hertfordshire people within the county do not seem all of one mind.

About the same time a desire for peace arose in many quarters, and Herts, Beds, and Essex, the most warlike of all the associated counties at the outset of the struggle, were found again presenting petitions for peace.

Thus, on the 11th of January, 1643, a few days after Lord Capel had moved away from Cambridge, and three days before the High Sheriff of Herts was to reassert himself, "the humble petition of the inhabitants within the county of Hertford" is being carried up to the House of Lords, and from the tone of it we may see clearly that the county was in a very unruly state.

The petitioners set forth that they "are very sensible of the great distractions and distempers of the times and of the great effusion of blood lately made (with great cruelty and immanity) amongst people of one and the same nation, and considering the imminent dangers and calamities if the unnatural and civil war be not by some good means * * determined; the greatest number of people now (breaking the bonds of law) submit not themselves to Government, but threaten and commit outrages to the terror of your petitioners and others, who are many of them likely to fall into want and misery by reason of the decay of trading, and exhausting of their estates;" the petitioners pray for a cessation of hostilities, and that some order may be taken that they may better possess themselves and their estates in peace, with protection "from the violence and fury of all unruly and dissolute multitudes who endeavour to raise themselves by the ruin of your petitioners."

There was evidently much disorder in Hertfordshire at this time, which has an interest in the light of what followed.

In these winter months at the end of 1642, we have seen that the King, according to course, "pricked sheriffs," and made choice in the several counties most likely to get the official life of the counties into his own hands. The choice in Hertfordshire naturally fell upon one who had already distinguished himself in the service of the King in matters at issue. The choice of Thomas Coningsby, Esq., of North Mimms, was but a bare act of justice from the King's point of view, though it would have had much greater weight with the Hertfordshire people had the choice fallen upon someone who had done less to enforce the objectionable claims of the King; for all remembered Mr. Coningsby's conduct in regard to Ship-money the last time he was High Sheriff, just before the commencement of the War.

It was at this junction of affairs when the people of Hertfordshire, tired of the annoyance of unruly mobs breaking in upon their social and domestic life, had been petitioning for protection against such acts, and for peace, that Thomas Coningsby, the new Royalist High Sheriff, saw his opportunity of executing his Commission of Array for the King under more favourable auspices than had attended the venture of Sir John Watts, at the "Bell," at Hertford, some few months ago. Taking advantage of the social drawbacks of the war on the side of law and order as reflected in the Herts petition, he sets about his Commission of Array in a cautious manner, and strained a point to give the act a constitutional air!

For the success of his bold venture the High Sheriff found that two points were necessary to be observed—one was to make it at a place where his influence was likely to have some weight, and the other was to secure as strong a body of supporters as possible for the occasion. For the former what place was more promising than among his near neighbours at St. Albans, a centre which is destined to play a notable part in the events resulting from the War? So on Saturday, Jan. 14th, 1643 [new style] Thomas Coningsby, the High Sheriff, sets out from North Mimms with a brilliant retinue—and as much of the *posse comitatus* as his high office will command in these dividing times—for St. Albans Market.

Away in the outskirts of London, across old Tyburn, with its cannon and fortifications, the sight of which so frightened Lady Sussex, and through Finsbury Fields, there is riding another body of horsemen led by a man of some repute. Of these troops the reader is requested to take notice, for they, too, are marching Northwards, though unknown to Mr. Coningsby.

Meanwhile the market folk in St. Albans are intent upon buying and selling—yeomen and maltsters in the yards of the old Christopher, and especially of the Red Lion at the corner, then a much larger building than now, and yeomen's wives and daughters deftly handling butter, cheese, and eggs, in the narrow passage still known as the Women's Market, leading up from the Market-cross to the Moot Hall in St. Peter's Street. Suddenly the familiar piquant cry of "What d' ye lack" from the yeomen's wives and daughters at the stalls and of apprentices at the shopdoors around the Market place, ceases, and in the inn-yards yeomen put up their samples, and maltsters their purses, as round the corner of Holywell Hill into the open Market place

* * * The stout old Sheriff comes,
Behind him march the halberdiers, before him
sound the drums!

In that imposing cavalcade, the High Sheriff, after the manner of the time, is surrounded by a brilliant retinue of some two or three score of liveried attendants in green satin doublets, by Cavaliers like himself, in gold and silver laced cloaks, broad hats and feathers. There, too, are some of the Royalist clergy, including Dr. Seaton, rector of Bushey, some of Mr. Coningsby's fellow magistrates, and a multitude of the common people!

Thomas Coningsby is for the moment in a position of which a man of his temper might indeed be proud, and by virtue of his office, and present surroundings, seems in a fair way to gain a more sympathetic hearing than has hitherto attended any Commission of Array for his Majesty in Hertfordshire. He is, for instance, one of the magistrates who sit in the Town House hard by to administer justice, a man of local influence, even apart from his office of High Sheriff, and so with, apparently, a fair wind he sets about his mission. First there is the inevitable proclamation, without which nothing is done in these times, and as the High Sheriff discharges this important function the townspeople naturally compare it, much to the advantage of the High Sheriff, with a similar act in which Mr. William Newe, mayor of St. Albans, came to grief a few months ago. While Mr. Coningsby is standing there, the central figure in the brilliant group at the Market-cross, and the drum has ceased its preliminary beat, the reader is asked to listen, with such aid as imagination may afford, to the stentorian voice of the herald as he reads :—

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation of his Majesties Grace, Favour and Pardon to the Inhabitants of this County of Hertford.

Whereas We have taken notice that by the malice, industry and importunity of severall ill-affected and seditious Persons in Our County of *Hertford*, very many of Our weake and seduced subjects in that Our county have not only beene drawne to exercise the *Militia*, under colour of a pretended Ordinance, without and against our consent (a crime of a very high nature, if We would strictly enquire thereinto), but have made contributions of Plate, Money and Horses, towards the maintenance of the Army now in Rebellion against Us ; We doe hereby publish and declare, that We are gratiously pleased to attribute the crimes and offences of our said subjects of that county to the power and faction of their Seducers; who, We believe, by Threates, Menaces, and false Informations, compelled and led them into these Actions of undutifullnesse and disloyalty towards Us ; and We doe therefore hereby offer Our free and gracious pardon to all the Inhabitants of Our said County of *Hertford*, for all offences concerning the Premisses committed against Us, before the publishing of this Our Proclamation, except such persons only as are already in prison for any of those offences.

Provided that this Our Grace shall not extend to any Person, who after publishing this Our Proclamation shall presume by Loane or Contribution, to assist the said Army of Rebells, to assemble and muster themselves in Armes without authority derived from Us under Our Hand, to enter into any Oath of Association for opposing Us and Our Army, or to succour, or entertaine any of the Persons excepted in Our Declaration of the 12th of *August*. But We must and doe declare, That whosoever shall hence forward be guilty of the Premisses, or either of them, shall be esteemed by Us, as an Enemy to the publike Peace, a Person disaffected to Us, and to the Religion and Lawes of the Kingdome, and shall accordingly receive condigne punishment, of which We give them timely notice that they may proceed accordingly at their perills.

And Wee do hereby will and require Our High Sheriffe, Commissioners of *Array*, Justices of the Peace, and all other Our Officers and loving subjects to resist, oppose, and apprehend all such Persons as shall presume to make any Leavies in that Our County, under what pretence soever, without Authority derived from Us under Our Hand. And we likewise will and require them, and every of them, to be assistant to all such as shall either command the Traine-Bands of that Our County, or make any Leavies in the same by vertue of Commission under Our Great Seale, or Signe Manuall.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, the seventh day of January, in the Eighteenth yeare of Our Reigne.

God save the King!

Upon the hoarding at the back of the Market Cross, upon the old Moot Hall, and "upon several places in the market," copies of this Royal proclamation are fixed. Thus far the High Sheriff's function proceeded smoothly and not without a certain amount of *eclât*, but fixing up a proclamation and getting the Militia on your side are not quite the same things, and so Mr. Coningsby approaches his neighbours with a little diplomacy. Standing there at the Market Cross, he is making a plausible statement; tells his neighbours and friends of the great need there is in these unhappy distractions of having an adequate force in the county to protect their lives, their property, and their homes from robberies such as those the magistrates have had to deal with. He is proceeding to tell them that with this end in view he is commissioned as their High Sheriff to call upon Viscount Cranborne, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, to raise Train-Bands for the preservation of their homes from felonies—that is not quite the meaning of his errand among the market people or what he wants the Train-Bands out for, but it is the most plausible way he can find in which to commence what might otherwise be an awkward business—when he is cut short by the rattling of horses' hoofs along the high road up Holywell Hill, by the old Abbey into the Market Place!

In the excitable crowd one hears the cry "the Parliament soldiers," and the sarcasm, "let him have the soldiers, an he will!" while around the gates of the three old inns all in a row, the "Red Lion," "Fleur de lys," and the "Cristopher," near the Market-Cross, a scene of indescribable confusion ensues! The fact is that "Captaine Cromwell with his troope of Horse, having order from the Parliament and Lord General to goe into Cambridgeshire, to secure that towne and county and to raise more forces there for that purpose," was on his way thither when he somehow got wind of the doings of the "new-made malignant High Sheriffe for Hartford," and so makes a little detour for the purpose of "clipping the wings" of the Hertfordshire High Sheriff as he has already done with some in the Eastern Counties.

As the Parliamentary troopers halt in front of the Old Cross Keys Inn (where the new London road now begins) all thoughts of friendly arrangement between Mr. Coningsby and Lord Cranborne for the good order of the county are lost sight of, and such of Mr. Coningsby's followers as are prepared to stake their skin upon the larger issue of King or Parliament now close in around their chief.

Cromwell's quick eye takes in the situation at a glance! To attack a miscellaneous crowd of that kind with the sword would be beside the mark. Taking six of his troopers he dashes into the excited crowd of market people, breaks through that fringe of green satin doublets which encircles the High Sheriff, tears down the Proclamation, and amidst the shrieks of the market women, the troopers get hold of the person of the High Sheriff, and a desperate tug of war ensues! Mr. Coningsby's supporters, backed up by some of the multitude, prove too strong for the troopers, the force of numbers for the moment prevails, and the High Sheriff, sadly mauled, is released "by a great multitude" from the grip of the Dragoons! "Whereupon the High Sheriffe went again to the Market-Crosse where the said confused multitude proclaimed him their lawful High Sheriffe."

But the respite is of but brief duration, for at a signal from Cromwell, "instantly after, some twenty more of the said troopers, being well horsed and armed," came upon the scene, and at this Mr. Coningsby and his supporters altered their tactics. The scene was changed from the Market-cross to "the inn-yard where he abode," apparently at the Red Lion, where the unfortunate Mr. Coningsby is again in the hands of rival factions and the tug of war is renewed! Here again there was a rush for the rescue by the crowd outside, but the gates were shut, and with such materials as came to hand—market carts, and such like conveniences, no doubt—they were "barricadoed" in such a manner as to make the Parliamentary troopers this time master of the situation, with Mr. Coningsby and others secure

as their prisoners ; "and, notwithstanding that many of the multitude had muskets, yet the well affected country people kept them off till the troopers brought him out and carried him away without any hurt done save only one Townesman wounded ; and so the Sheriffe was conveyed thence to London and kept in a safe custody in Ely House in Holborne, together with one Dr. Seaton and some other malignants of those parts who were then brought up with him." †

[Vicars' *England's Parliamentary Chronicle*, p. 256].

PLUNDER AND PANIC.—HERTFORDSHIREFOLK GETTING BEHIND BARRICADES.

Mr. Coningsby, the High Sheriff, with his gold lace ruffled, his green satin retinue sadly broken and scattered, and his "pretended commission of array," discredited, has vanished for a time, with the Rector of Bushey, from the St. Albans people, to be heard of before many days at the bar of the House of Commons. Cromwell rides on to accomplish that special mission for the defence of Cambridge, having by the aid of his troopers and the sympathies of the market people, given to those townspeople of St. Albans who were inclined to stand up for Mr. Coningsby because he was their lawful sheriff, and to all the country side assembled on market day, an object lesson in the bearings of the coming struggle which they are likely to take to heart and to remember for many years to come. The event evidently made a great impression upon the county people, and is reflected in one of those curious epistles from Gorhambury in which Lady Sussex, writing a few days afterwards to Sir Ralph Verney, in London, says :—

"They till me ther was something rede in the chorch this sonday that thos that dide not give to the Parlyment must be plonderede presently ; i cannot believe it was so, but your forses have taken away our srife [Sheriff] as the call him."

On March 13th, 1643, there is submitted to the House of Commons the identical Commission of Array which was made so abortive by Cromwell's troops in St. Albans market. It is there described as "the instrument or precept of Thomas Coningsby, laying commands upon the Lord Viscount Cranborne, lord lieutenant of the County of Herts, to raise train-bands for suppressing such felonies and robberies as are committed there, as he says, and for keeping the peace."

This specious document and its modest pretensions would not have for long deceived anyone in Hertfordshire under the circumstances, nor did it deceive the House. In fact Mr. Coningsby has carried it off with a very high hand and insolent air before the Committee of Examinations when brought up from his imprisonment in London House to be examined, and Mr. Corbett reports to the House from the Committee—"the bold and unbefitting carriage of the High Sheriff of Hertfordshire," and the House promptly cuts short Mr. Coningsby's Royalist career, so far as the coming War is concerned, by ordering him off to the Tower, "there to remain a close prisoner till the further pleasure of this House be known."

While the Lieutenant of the Tower is troubling the House with certain matters touching the treatment of the High Sheriff of Herts, we must take leave of him for a time for the more pressing parts of this narrative, merely remarking that for part of that year the county of Hertford is without a Sheriff.

Only a few weeks after the Royalist affray in St. Albans market a notable skirmish occurred (April, 1643) on the other side of the county, near Buntingford. One of Cromwell's subalterns and a band of horse had been sent up to London from Cambridge with some treasure from the Colleges, and were returning with baggage, including one interesting personal item, when they met with a rough incident, and were put on their mettle. The North Road at this time, and indeed all through the seventeenth century—one of the worst centuries for English road-making—was inconceivably bad at this end of the county—cut to pieces by the heavy maltsters carts passing from the then great corn market at Royston to the malting centres at Ware and Stortford. The party had reached Buntingford, and a short distance on the Royston side, at

† Particulars of this scene in St. Albans market are scarce, of a fragmentary kind, and have to be compared with each other. Carlyle (*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*), in his impulsive way, dismisses the incident with the briefest reference and with the assertion "date irrecoverably lost." Yet a careful comparison of other sources besides those quoted by Carlyle—*Perfect Diurnals*, *Journals of Parliament*, and the King's Proclamation itself—fixes the date clearly enough. For the loan of the rare broadsheet proclamation by the King—which a comparison of dates shows must have been the one which was stuck up in St. Albans market on that memorable Saturday—I am indebted to Mr. Lewis Evans, of Hemel Hempstead.

Chipping, one of the worst parts of a bad road, they were set upon by a Royalist party with so much vigour, and evidently in superior numbers, that while the fight was proceeding some of the attacking party carried off most of the baggage. They were eventually beaten off, and fortunately one article of peculiar interest was saved. This was a new helmet for Cromwell. He had found his old helmet "ill-set," and had given special directions for the party to purchase him a new one at Vandeleur's, the Fleming, in Tower-street. It was to be "fluted, with good barrets, and let the plume-case be set on well behind. I would prefer it lined with good shamoy leather, to any other." The new helmet was apparently duly delivered to the future hero of the Ironsides; but when a victorious party is obliged to make such a candid admission as this—"We went up with the treasure; got sadly mauled coming back, but beat the ruffinns (ruffians) at Chipping, but lost near all our baggage"—the impartial reader may conclude that the tussle was a severe one, and the victory dearly won.

At Cambridge on Good Friday, 1643, the Committee is exercising its powers by shutting up the Vice-Chancellor and other chief persons of the University and keeping them in the Public Schools all one cold night without fire or food, on account of their refusing to make contributions, and about the same time there is a tearing up of the Book of Common Prayer in the presence of Cromwell in Great St. Mary's Church.

With the opening months of 1643, alarming news reaches Hertfordshire of the plundering of the Royalist troops under Prince Rupert. "That they marched to Wendover and have plundered all the towns thereabout of all their goods and household stuff, taken and driven away all their horses, beasts, and sheep; spoiled and turned the inside of many fair houses, cut even the farmers' harness and things belonging to the plough, and swearing horrid oaths that we shall have no harvest this year."

Rumours of plundering filled the air, and about St. Albans especially, where "ever hose they say bought armies and gons to defend them," says Lady Sussex, who follows the example of her neighbours, arms her servants with caribens and lays in "twenty ponde of poder," and when advised by her friends to seek a safer place than Gorhambury, with her infirm husband, Lord Sussex, now lying there paralysed and wrapped in blankets, the innate goodness and courage of a woman of the world. at a time when women were called upon to brave many things, comes out in the resolve :—

"i hope in the lorde pese will com. . . .if ther bee not i shall bee in a most misirable condisyon, for i will not stor from my good olde lorde what some ever bee coms of me!"

And so, harrassed with fears on all sides, by rumours of what was "rede in chorch this Sonday," but secured by protections from the Earl of Essex on one side and the Royalist Commanders on the other, Gorhambury remains unmolested; though the parish is "ratede att fore ponde a leven sillings a wike and to keepe 8 fote sogers."

The alarm of the Hertfordshire people was shared by Parliament, who, on March 31st, were taking into consideration "the great danger to the county of Hertford upon the credible information that the forces from Oxford are now upon their march towards the said county and the counties of Buckingham and Bedford to plunder and pillage the same." As a remedy Parliament made an ordinance for raising out of Hertfordshire beyond what it was already called upon for, the sum of £450, "for the levying and paying of forces, fortifying towns, and buying arms and ammunition for the necessary defence and safety of the said county."

The county and its neighbours rose to the occasion with spirit and a few days afterwards enabled Lord Grey, of Wark, to march out of Hertfordshire towards Wycombe with 4,000 Foot and 1,500 Horse. With these he was enabled to unite with the Earl of Essex, and together they marched to Windsor, and thence to invest the town of Reading. The reinforcement from Hertfordshire enabled the investment of Reading to be completed and the town taken just before the King and Prince Rupert could reach the beleaguered garrison. This, one of the first considerable operations in which Hertfordshire men were engaged, must have created a favourable impression in the county and probably relieved for the time even Lady Sussex of some of her fears for the safety of Gorhambury, behind its homely barricades.

But fortifications and finances are just now of more moment even than men. Cambridge, the bulwark of the Eastern Association, where the Grand Committee from Herts and Cambs and other counties sits in council, has already begun to throw up its earthworks, but the cost is likely to be £2,000. Cromwell, whose influence is all powerful, is pushing on the work with vigour.

On Sunday, the 12th of March, the congregations in the village churches are treated at the close of divine service to the reading of a warrant, which, remembering the threatening attitude of Capel's troops, and the enormous massing of soldiers in Cambridge just before, they listen to apparently with a good deal of curiosity and also of perplexity. These warrants, made out by Cromwell and others, set forth—"whereas we have been enforced by apparent grounds of approaching danger, to begin to fortify the town of Cambridge for preventing the enemy's inroad," &c., &c.

The kind of response the appeal met with is known in the case of the parish of Fen Drayton in the Papworth Hundred, where the curate made a return that £1 18*s.* 2*d.* had been collected, "subscribed by fifteen persons." Evidently the congregation at Fen Drayton was not a large one, or the people find it hard to meet the successive calls upon them.

But if it was hard to raise the wind in Cambridgeshire, the other counties were still more reluctant to part with their money, however readily they might furnish men and arms. In two months the voluntary contributions from the Associated Counties only reached £3,372, of which Cambridgeshire alone supplied £2,000. The county of Cambridge had the advantage of Cromwell's untiring exertions and the stimulus in the month of May of the King's forces marching into that county.

Soldiers are increasing in such numbers at St. Albans that even Lady Sussex, a fairly good Parliamentarian, is again trembling for the safety of Gorhambury and is appealing to the Earl of Manchester, destined to be one of her future husbands, to intervene for her protection with the "hoper hose."

If Parliament itself could not always count quite safely upon the line of conduct of certain individuals, it is not surprising that in such a state of warfare, even those not pronounced partisans were liable to rude intrusion in their homes; and that occasionally flagrant cases of marauding were visited upon innocent persons, and perhaps those most to be pitied were the women members of families the heads of which were away fighting for the King or for Parliament. Thus, on April 1st, 1643, the following matter was brought before the House of Lords:

"The House was this day informed that Lady Capel hath had her horses and £400 taken from her by some soldiers under the pretence of a warrant from the Committee of Safety, wherein the parties have exceeded their Commission and injured the Committee. Resolution of the House that the said Committee should make inquiry. It is ordered that the said lady shall have protection for her houses of Haddon Hall [sic] and Cashaberry * * for her goods and chattels * * and that the Earl of Manchester write to Lord Grey on her behalf." [Lords' Journal, vol. v. p. 685.]

A little more than a month after this the Earl of Bridgewater, though nominally a Parliamentarian, met with an experience similar to that recorded of Lady Capel, when his mansion at Ashridge was rudely entered by soldiers with the disastrous results, reported to the House of Lords on June 13th, 1643, showing that—

"Upon Saturday last Capt. Washington, Capt. Kemsey, and Capt. Burr, with their soldiers, entered into his Park and House at Ashridge, detained his servants prisoners, beat down the ceilings, break open and hewed down all the doors in his house, searched all his evidences, rooms, studies, and closets, took away plate, arms, &c.; destroyed all his deer; taking away forty-four horses." The noble Earl desired reparation herein and prevention for the future. Following the petition is this entry in the Lords' Journals:—"Hereupon this House ordered that the Earl of Bridgewater shall have the protection of this House, and the Captains to be sent for to appear before this House to answer the same if they are captains not under the Army of the Lord General; if they be, then to send this petition to the said Lord General and he to send them up."

The outcome of it was that on the 27th June following, the House of Lords passed this order:—"Upon information to this house that divers soldiers and commanders have seized upon the horses and abused the House of the Earl of Bridgewater at Ashridge, it is ordered that the persons offending shall be sent for to prove the fact; and then this House will take further order therein."

I have been unable to trace the result of the resolution, but in the same month there is further evidence of the violence which prevailed and was dreaded within the same part of the county, and an order was made by the House of Lords granting protection for the park and house at Berkhamsted.

It must not be understood that the plundering was on the side of the Cavaliers only. There

is no doubt that on both sides, with men suddenly called to arms upon issues which embittered all the relations of life, and with but little of the discipline of trained soldiers, there were frequent acts of pillage. This is clear from D'Ewes' Diary, whose remarks would especially apply to Hertfordshire during certain stages of the War in the opening years. "And great also was the calamity everywhere in those counties in which his Majesty's forces or ours came, neither side abstaining from rapine and pillage; and, besides, the rude multitude in divers counties took advantage of those civil and intestine broils to plunder and pillage the houses of the nobility, gentry, and others, who were either known Papists, or being Protestants, had sent or provided horses, money or plate to send to the King; or such as being rich they would make malignants." The last words I imagine applied very well to Ashridge and its treatment.

Unpopular though it might be in certain quarters, it was already found necessary, in order to raise the sinews of war, that the voluntary efforts of the more ardent supporters of Parliament within the county should be supplemented by assessments and taxes upon such as did not at all contribute or lend, or not according to their estates and abilities. In May, 1643, in the county of Hertford and neighbouring counties, which "out of their good affections had lately sent forces, arms and ammunition which, with all the officers of the said forces, they had paid for two months, and could no longer bear the heavy charges upon them," a whip was sent down for the collectors to look up the tardy ones—Sir Thomas Dacres and Mr. John Heydon being charged with this special duty in Herts. In April, 1643, Sir Thomas Dacres brought up from the House of Commons to the Lords an order for raising the Regiment of Volunteers in the county of Hertford, which was agreed to by the Lords.

The spirit of this effort "for the public service of the King and Parliament" may be understood from the fact that the said regiment was on the same day as the above order stated to be "now ready to march out of the limits of their Association [Association of Eastern Counties] for the public service of King and Parliament, and to such places as shall be appointed them." Of this regiment, raised for the service of the "King and Parliament," as the orders are yet constitutionally worded, but in reality to fight for the Parliament against the King, the Colonel was Sir John Wittewrong, of Rothamstead.

What the particular amount of the assessment upon Hertfordshire for the purposes of the War was in the summer of 1643 is made clear by documentary evidence. For the purpose of assessing and collecting the proportion due from inhabitants the county was divided into five parts. On May 11th, 1643, Sir Thomas Dacres, then member for the county, writes to Speaker Lenthall thus: "Yesterday myself and Mr. Heydon met at Hertford and took the several accounts of the high collectors for the weekly assessments. The charge upon the five divisions is £180 each. This service is much retarded by the order of the Committee sitting at Cambridge for the withdrawal of two companies of the Trained Bands out of this County for service at Cambridge, and that a month's pay for each soldier at the rate of 28*s*. be gathered and brought thither." [*State Papers.*]

Here we see that the inhabitants of the county at this time were called upon to contribute £900 per week towards the general expenses of carrying on the War by Parliament, and in addition had to pay their Train-Bands—forces primarily intended for the defence of the county in which they were raised—while serving outside the county in the defence of Cambridge. For the advancement of the cause of Parliament within the county, on the 7th of April. a day of public thanksgiving, there was appointed to be read in every one of the parish churches in the county "A Catalogue of Remarkable Mercies" conferred upon the Associated Counties, enumerating the recent victories of the Parliamentary Forces, one of which was that at Hilsden House, Bucks, which victory "enabled the Parliament to ease and comfort poor inhabitants of the almost wasted county of Buckingham." †

In the Spring of 1643, the Hertfordshire forces under Earl Grey—who was commander of the Eastern Association forces, and under whom Cromwell served—had marched as we have seen from Watford, where they had been lying, to join with the army before Reading, and after its surrender must have had a desperate time if they remained with the Earl of Essex, whose Army all through that drenching month of May was lying about in the heavy fields around Thame and Aylesbury, near the spot where a short time afterwards Hampden fell in Chalgrove Field. Weary with sickness and fighting his Army marches from Thame towards London to recruit,

† This "Catalogue of Remarkable Mercies" was printed at the time by order of the Committee and issued at Cambridge, and a copy of it may still be seen in the British Museum Library.

but takes up his quarters in these summer months at St. Albans, which is destined to be a frequent rendezvous of the Parliamentary Army.

In that same drenching rain some picturesque scenes were going forward in the Metropolis. Four times, across the old Tyburn Road, now known as Oxford Street, the entrenchments are thrown up and the attitude of the people is thus described by a contemporary record :—

"May 8.—The work in the field to trench the city goes on amain. Many thousands of men, women and servants go out daily to work ; and this day there went out a great company of the Common Council and divers other chief men of the city, with the greatest part of the Trained-Bands, with spades, shovels, pickaxes, etc.

"May 9.—Many thousands of citizens, their wives and families, went out to dig, and all the porters in and about the city, to the number of 2,000."

To the above Whitelock in his *Memorials* adds, "It was wonderful to see how the women and children, and vast numbers of people, would come and work about, digging and carrying of earth to make their new fortifications."

After this fashion London has got itself behind earth-works, with their bastions and redoubts, and pending any serious approach of the enemy, is amusing itself with pulling down Charing and Cheapside Crosses, and burning the King's "Book of Sports" upon the ruins.

In the midst of all this commotion, and of such scenes as those at Ashridge and Cassiobury, which made the Civil War more dreaded in the homes where women only remained than was the sword to their husbands in the field, Lady Sussex, of Gorhambury, is unmolested as she stands faithfully by the dying bed of her "good olde Lord," who will be seen no more in that "hupper hose" of Westminster. In July, there goes, equally unmolested amid the din of arms and the violence and bitterness of domestic espionage, the bereaved Countess from Gorhambury, who obtains a pass for all her "compiny of two coaches and six horses, that drew the hearse to Boram" [Boreham in Essex], where the old Lord is laid to rest with his ancestors, and the widowed Countess gets this bit of human consolation :—"i am glade that he is laide amonst his one blode." * * * "he hath expressed so much love and respecte to me, all the time i have hade him that truly i cannot but bee hartily sensable of his lose, i woulde not neglect anythinge for his beriall."

Turning from this little glimpse of domestic life to more stirring affairs, we find that Hampden has breathed out his patriotic soul at the engagement of Chalgrove Field, with the prayer :—O Lord, save my bleeding country"—and will be seen no more in those meetings of Pym and others, at Sir William Lytton's house at Knebworth.

By July 14th, Cambridge had completed its fortifications, though almost before the Eastern Association had got well in order, and the work of fortifying St. Albans is already well in hand.

"Newark and the Northern Papists" were a name to conjure with, for the Duke of Newcastle's Army held its own with Fairfax and was threatening the Association through the Fens, concerning which Cromwell, who is now the coming man, writes from Huntingdon to Sir John Burgoyne, of Potton, Beds, as follows :—

"These plunderers draw near. I think it will do well if you can afford us any assistance of Dragooners to help in this great exigence. We have here about six or seven troops of horse ; such I hope as will fight. Its happy to resist such beginnings betimes."

The fact is Cromwell has already begun to get together, from each county of the Association apparently, the nucleus of that famous body of "Ironsides," in place of the "decayed serving men and tapsters," who were of no use against the King's "sons of gentlemen and persons of quality."

Then there came into Hertfordshire more rumours of plundering of High Wycombe by Prince Rupert ; while the Earl of Essex is sitting down stolidly at Aylesbury watching the course of events. In Hertfordshire, where the alarm is great, and especially in London, there is the greatest impatience at the Earl's inactivity, and the Londoners, knowing that the Queen is on her way to the King at Oxford, tauntingly ask if the Earl is afraid of fighting the Queen as well as the King ! But no taunts move the staunch old general in his steady allegiance, and the only response he makes is to move across to Brickhill, near Leighton Buzzard, to keep open the Watling Street communication through Hertfordshire with London and the Northern Army, which he sees is threatened.

The Londoners, however, did not see the force of this, and hearing of Rupert's advance westward and the capture of Bristol, they manifest their discontent by chalking on the walls caricatures of the Parliamentary General enjoying his favourite pipe and glass!

In July, 1643, Parliament makes order requiring three hundred horses to be raised by the County of Hertford, to meet with those of Beds, Bucks, and Northants at Bedford by the 1st of August. About the same time Parliament, "being fully satisfied and resolved in their consciences that they have lawfully taken up arms, and may and ought to continue the same for the necessary defence of the true and reformed Protestant religion, and of themselves and the Parliament from violent destruction," made order levying upon the various counties certain weekly sums to be raised, and to Hertfordshire fell the weekly levy of £450. The weekly sums for the other counties of the Eastern Association were:—Essex, £1,125; Suffolk, £1.250; Norfolk, £1,250; Cambs, £375; Isle of Ely, £147 10*s.*; Hunts, £220.

This order was to continue in force two months "unless the King's Army shall be disbanded in the meantime"—rather a remote consolation for the Hertfordshire taxpayer, as events proved.

The efforts to comply with this demand, made at a most unfortunate time, are not very encouraging, and the task of getting in horses and men does not proceed smoothly. In Essex, the Deputy Lieutenants had a desperate task, farm work being too pressing to spare the horses for the muster; while among the men themselves there was a mutiny of which Parliament was obliged to take serious notice.

In London, the war fever suddenly goes down, there is a clamouring for peace, and a great crowd of women wearing white ribbon in their hats besiege the Houses of Parliament. As a counterblast the London pulpits ring with calls upon the citizens to "go forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty." The Earl of Essex vindicates his allegiance to the Parliament; reviews 8,000 men on Hounslow Heath, and 15,000 others join him on his great march by Aylesbury to the relief of Gloucester—one of the most notable things during the War.

Cromwell writes again in August in imperious tones to the Committee sitting at Cambridge:—"It is no longer disputing, but out instantly all you can. You must act lively, do it without distraction. Neglect no means."

Even the members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, having houses in the Associated Counties, were sent out to push on the recruiting business, with instructions "to rouse the people to supply the necessary forces for their defence," and in Hertfordshire, as we shall see, there were several members of that Assembly available for such militant service. But it was a bad time to take men away from their callings with harvest just at hand, and the old contemporary pamphleteer might well ask—"Can the plough go where there are no men to hold?" In Hertfordshire, as the harvest is slowly progressing in the villages, a very different and less peaceful scene is presented at St. Albans, which, as one of the most important centres between London and the Royalist positions, is just now, and has been for some time past, finding employment for a part of the Army under the Earl of Essex, and the townspeople, in throwing up fortifications, for here the General's soldiers are likely to remain during the autumn and into the winter.

Unlike the garrison towns of Cambridge or Aylesbury, St. Albans, though the principal military position in the home counties as a base of operations, at once in touch with the Metropolis, and the Parliamentary Armies marching northward, did not need so complete or expensive fortification on all sides. On the northern face of the town, however, from east to west, defensive works were urgently needed, and in the harvest of 1643 the throwing up of earth-works is being hastily pushed forward. These works were made specially strong at the St. Peter's Street and Watling Street end of the town. Not far from St. Peter's Church—a Church already famous in military history, and destined to become so again before this struggle is over—strong forts were apparently erected, the artillery of which commanded the northern approach to the town.

Though the principal works of defence were needed at this end of the town, the system of fortifications included a fort also at the London entrance to the town, and the maintenance of these works found employment, not only for soldiers, but for working men at the regular Quarter Sessions rate of wages, and must have

still further crippled the supply of labour available for husbandry. † How Hertfordshire stood upon its defence when the first crisis came will be told in the next chapter.

ROYALIST INVASION OF BEDS AND HERTS.—GREAT RENDEZVOUS AT HITCHIN.—PURSUIT OF THE CAVALIERS.

One of the first of a series of typical experiences of the War in the northern part of Hertfordshire threw all the civil population of Herts and Beds into strange tumult shortly after the harvest of 1643. The first symptoms of anxiety and alarm had occurred during August, of which the following is a glimpse from private family life. It is from a letter written by a lady member of a well-known family.

"1643, Aug. Wednesday, noon. J. B. [Judith Barrington] to Sir T. B. Captain Manester thinks that we lose time too much. That there are no warrants yet sent out to warn the trained bands of Volunteers to get into their proper places, and that the constables may have warning, and charge to get horses in readiness, if need be * * I have sent this enclosed by the importunity of Starford [Stortford?] men, which will show you which way the enemy inclines.—P.s. Remember to give warning to our nephew Masham, to have his troops of horse in readiness instantly. Think to secure Ware river from passage that way as well as by Royston."

How the parish constables were to get horses in the midst of harvest without great hardship to the farmer was of course one of those problems of the War which had to be solved by the force of necessity. It is clear from other sources that when the above letter was written the need for the warning was urgent. After a fashion the farmers finished their harvest before the Volunteers were called upon for action, and with some of the troops of horse which were provided Cromwell was able shortly afterwards to do some hard fighting about Stamford. Yet he is at Cambridge, with the Committee there for two days in September, and somewhat bitterly reflects upon the uphill work of maintaining his "men of conscience." He pleads hard for help in a letter which has now become historic.

"I beseech you be careful what Captain of Horse you choose; what men be mounted; a few honest men are better than numbers * * I had rather have a plain, russet coated Captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'A Gentleman' and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed."

In a postscript to that letter, Cromwell pays the not very flattering compliment to the county of Essex—"If you send such men as Essex hath sent it will be to little purpose."

He adds that if he wrote to the House in bitterness he had occasion, for of the £300 allotted "I cannot get the Norfolk part nor the Hertfordshire." To have to write thus was hard lines for a man who had sacrificed eleven or twelve hundred pounds from his private estate, and who adds with characteristic force:—"You have had my money, I hope in God I desire to venture my skin. So do mine: lay weight upon their patience, but break it not."

It must not be understood that Hertfordshire was remiss in its efforts for the cause, simply because the money, as Cromwell complained, did not come in, but rather that Hertfordshire had special reasons for placing the means of its own defence even before that of neighbouring counties less exposed to the chances of the expected invasion of the King's Forces, and to this end both men and money had to be raised.

The town of Watford was again specially commended in an ordinance of the House of Lords of Sept. 19th, 1643, in which it is stated that:—

"Whereas the inhabitants of the town of Watford, having shown themselves forward and zealous to express their affections for defence of Parliament and Kingdom, were authorised by ordinance of the eleventh of November last, to make assessments and tax themselves and the rest of the parish, according to the quantity of their estates and abilities, for provision of competent men, arms, and ammunition for defence of the same town and parish * * and whereas by the care and industry of divers well affected persons of the said town of Watford and the neighbourhood thereof, one regiment of foot is already raised, and good hopes given of raising more, if a convenient supply of power may be had

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† In the accounts of the Mayor of St. Albans for 1642-3 there occur these items:—"Paid to three men for six days' work done at the town's end for mending up of the forts there at the rate of 10*d.* a day..... 5*s.* ——For two men's work more for two days' work at St. Peter's Street end, 8*s.* 4*d.*"

* * * the Lords and Commons * * do hereby order and ordain, &c., &c."

The outcome of this order was that a special Volunteer Committee was appointed.†

This Committee had power to assess the inhabitants for what was necessary to the maintenance of a Volunteer force, providing that it did not exceed the sum of £200 a week, and finally so long as this Volunteer Force was employed within the county of Hertford it was to be under the immediate command of Viscount Cranborne.

The Committee, or any seven of them, were further empowered with all convenient speed to summon to appear at convenient places in the county the freeholders and other inhabitants able to bear arms, or find arms, or contribute towards the same, and to propound to the said freeholders and inhabitants "what present and imminent danger and necessity the whole kingdom is now reduced unto by the wicked and traiterous advice and counsel, attempts and conspiracies of Papists and other persons about His Majesty." At the close of this harangue they were enjoined to take the collection, or in other words the voluntary subscriptions, of men, arms, horse, and monies of well affected persons, and to apply the same to the arming and training of those who volunteered for service. But while the Hertfordshire people were putting their own house in order, the claims upon them for helping to raise money and men for the general operations of the War outside the county did not cease.

Towards the end of September there came the tidings of the Battle of Newbury, the uncertain issue of which left, at least, one fact of great moment to all Hertfordshire men, whether on the side of Parliament or the King, in the death of the great Lord Falkland, of Aldenham, slain in the Battle, almost by his own choice rather than bear any longer the unnatural strain of the War!

By this time Hertfordshire had become a part of the great Parliamentary recruiting ground of East Anglia, and had less risk of the skirmishes within the county which had been common enough in the previous winter. Yet the terrors of an invasion from without were much greater, from the fact that there was brought within a short distance of their doors the risk of conflict between much larger bodies of troops than any county skirmishes had hitherto done.

The Royalist strategy which most affected Hertfordshire was the plan of making incursions into the Eastern Associated Counties, just when the Parliamentary Armies of Fairfax and Essex were operating in the North and West respectively. To the Royalists this brought two advantages—it enabled them to quarter their troops upon fresh country and at the same time to check reinforcements being sent to Fairfax and Essex. Beyond this it could not be pushed; for had the invading Royalists marched too far into East Anglia, they would have been liable to be caught in their own trap, by finding themselves in a quarter from which it would have been very difficult to effect a retreat. The Royalist invasion of the Eastern Association was therefore limited to a kind of sally out of Oxford across Bucks into Herts, Beds, and Cambs, and then, having accomplished their purpose, to retire towards Oxford again before the superior numbers hastily got together from the Eastern Counties in the panic which ensued.

The first great movement of this kind to alarm the people of Hertfordshire occurred just after they had finished the irregular harvest work of 1643, and affords a good illustration of the tactics just described. At that time there was no considerable force for Parliament nearer than Windsor in the West, and Boston in Lincolnshire in the North East. The Earl of Essex was at Windsor, and the Earl of Manchester at Boston, where he was waiting for reinforcements from Cambridge to march against the army of the Duke of Newcastle.

In October a detachment from the King's Army, by way of diverting the Earl of Manchester's movements against the Northern Army, performed a sort of cross-country feint, resorted to again later, and advanced into several parts of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, "plundering wherever they came"—in fact it was their only means of subsistence in such quarters. It was certified that they had cruelly plundered several parts of Bedfordshire, as at Dunstable where there was "a great fair"—the Michaelmas fair

† The names of the Committee were as follows:—Sir John Garrett, or Garrard (Knight), Sir John Wittewrong (Knight), William Leman, Esq., Richard Porter, Esq., Capt. John Marsh, Capt. Nathaniel Hawes, Mr. Gabrieal Barber, Mr. Adam Washington, Mr. William Carter, Captain Daniel Field, Thomas Mitchell, William Finch, Nathaniel Manisty, Christopher Loossees, Zachary King, Henry King, John Gates, Francis Clerke, John Gale, William Bailey, Randall Nicholl, Daniel Nicholl, John Grubbe, Henry Marsh, William South, Robert Warren, William Aileward, Nicholas Colborne, and William Hickman, all of them inhabitants of the said county of Herts.

in fact—and among the visitors with their produce and cattle the Cavaliers "made great spoil" and spread the greatest alarm all over Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire!

The Train-Bands of Hertfordshire were called together to defend themselves from "the body of the King's Horse gotten into Bedfordshire," and the Lords and Commons issued an order directing the deputy lieutenants to repair to the Lord General and give out their warrants for the Train-Bands to march to such places as the Lord General should direct.

The fact was that Prince Rupert himself, in command of a strong force of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, had marched into Bedfordshire and captured the town of Bedford and defeated the Parliamentary force which was there stationed. At the same time Sir Lewis Dives had marched with a body of 400 Horse into Ampthill, where the County Committee was then sitting, and actually carried off these "well affected gentry and freeholders" prisoners to Abingdon and Oxford, together with about 100 horse!

Several other stirring incidents of Prince Rupert's operations in Bedfordshire had a peculiar interest for Hertfordshire. In those operations the Train-Bands, upon which Hertfordshire was depending so much, had been put to the test in Bedfordshire, and found wanting; for, in the attack upon Bedford it was alleged that either from cowardice or malignancy not a man of them would stir, "whereupon Sir John Norris was constrained to quit the town, and himself and others were taken prisoners."

Then followed a curious incident. Sir John Norris was lucky enough to make his escape; and, making his way towards Hitchin, sent to that town for a troop of horse to come to his assistance. These and other troops went out to meet Sir John, and at last "they brought their Colonel shouting for joy towards Hitchin!" Whereupon some person, not knowing who they were, came post haste into the town with the alarm that the enemy were coming! "which put them all in alarm as far as Hartford, but they were only Sir John's troops bringing him home."—[*Parliament Scout*, 20th October, 1643.]

The marked Royalist success in the capture of Bedford, the capture of the Beds Committee-men at Ampthill, and the practically unopposed foraging expeditions in South Beds and North Herts, caused Prince Rupert's Cavaliers to extend their operations. Marching out of Beds into Cambridgeshire they took the town of Cambridge into their plan of compaign. To have taken or permanently held this Parliamentary stronghold might have been beyond their strength, but they could at least divert the much-needed reinforcements which Manchester was waiting for in the Fens, and levy contributions for the maintenance of their own troops, in both which they partially succeeded. Arriving at Cambridge, the Cavaliers "so cunningly plotted the business that the troop of horse in the town could not be got together [to march to reinforce the Earl of Manchester], they having guarded the stable doors; and some of them, having got arms, fell upon the Prison, pulled it down, and let loose all the delinquent prisoners, and then fell upon the houses of the townsmen crying 'we are for the King and for him we will fight, and for none other?' but at last the townsmen on the Parliament side prevailed, having killed some and wounded others."—[*Parliament Scout.*]

The Earl of Essex hearing, at Windsor, of Prince Rupert's doings in Bedfordshire, removes his army and his artillery to St. Albans. Sending on his Horse and "three regiments of Londoners" to Dunstable, his Excellency remained behind at St. Albans to mass the Hertfordshire Train-Bands, to meet him at Hitchin on the Saturday. "The whole county, with wondrous great alacrity, was in a sudden raised to defend themselves against the King's forces," and the sudden muster at Hitchin on that Saturday in October of "between three and four thousand Hertfordshire Trained Band Volunteers" was one of the largest of purely county musters during the War.

So from these two points—the Horse and London Regiments of Foot, in all seven regiments, from Dunstable, and the Hertfordshire men from Hitchin—the Earl of Essex was able, not only to free the county of Hertford from the King's forces, and "beat them back from Hitchin"; but to "sweep the county of Bedford, and to pursue the enemy and drive them out of their winter quarters at Bedford and Newport Pagnell"—the latter garrison town being gained "without the least bloodshed"—to pay a surprise visit to and capture Stony Stratford, where they "slew 30 of them," until "the Cavaliers ranne away in a panic feare towards Oxford." [*The True Informer*, *The Perfect Diurnall*, &c.]

The foregoing incident was likely to become as ruinous to the Hertfordshire people, however,

for the ensuing winter of 1643-4, as it was satisfactory for the time being to the county of Bedford, if only for the fact that it brought the Earl of Essex and his Army into winter quarters near his old favourite rendezvous at St. Albans.

MUTINY AT ST. ALBANS.—HERTFORDSHIRE FAMILIES IN OXFORD.—SAY SHIBBOLETH!

The lesson which the incursion of Prince Rupert's Cavaliers into Beds, Herts, and Cambs brought home to the people of these counties, could not now be disregarded for their future safety, and to secure this meant more frequent and larger calls upon the allegiance of the people to the popular cause. In order that no one should escape paying his share towards the necessary expense of the defensive measures, a great extension of the County Committee was found necessary, and fresh members were added, representing all parts of the county, from Royston in the North-East to the extreme West of the county, † ensuring the fullest local knowledge and an evasion of the weekly assessments upon the part of individuals the more difficult.

It also became necessary to look a little further afield and strengthen positions on the line of communication. The garrison of Newport Pagnell, from which the Earl of Essex and the Hertfordshire men had driven the Cavaliers in a panic, required holding, and for this purpose a Hertfordshire regiment lying about Luton was ordered at the end of November to march thither.

In three months, by December 18th, the Volunteer Committee for Hertfordshire mentioned above had "already raised three regiments, and by their care and endeavours, give further hopes of making good progress in the work, if some fit addition of power be given, for compelling officers to do their duty, persons assessed to pay their taxes, and such towns and persons within the said county to bear and perform their proportionable part of the burden * * * who have hitherto refused and neglected to do the same, though equally interested in the danger, and benefited by such protection * * for their safety and security." The Lords and Commons "taking the same into serious consideration, and the dangers of that county, lying near unto and much threatened by a Popish and malignant enemy," found it necessary to give further power to the Committee, and added local gentlemen in various parts of the county besides those above mentioned, viz.—Francis Steward, Alban Cox (St. Albans), William Cox (Shendley), William Smith (Sandridge), Thomas Hanshutt (Hinxworth), John Finch (Watford), and others.

But while Parliament is giving orders, the Earl of Essex is at St. Albans, exercised much in mind about the services already rendered at Newport Pagnell by Hertfordshire men, who "when they come back will expect pay, having been so long without, and having done so good service." His Lordship represents in his letters from St. Albans to Parliament, after he has sent off one reinforcement, the inconvenience of his marching to Sir William Waller, at Farnham, and adds "if the forces be taken from hence [from Hertfordshire] it is impossible to secure Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Essex, from the enemy, there being a very long line to keep. * * besides, the addition of strength I send him is so considerable, being six hundred horse, and so well commanded that I hold them able to encounter a thousand of the Enemy's."

The old town on the hill which has witnessed some of the memorable battles in England's history—that Verulamium which Julius Cæsar wrested from the Trinobantes and burned to ashes, that St. Albans where the ashes of the first martyr marked the transition from Pagan to Christian England, and the St. Albans, with its terrible and decisive battles in the great Civil Wars of the Roses—this more modern St. Albans, being an important station on the line of march and a centre for rendezvous of troops, saw not a few tumultuous scenes during the War besides that dashing skirmish which had landed Mr. Coningsby, the High Sheriff, in the Tower before his Royalist career had well begun. These scenes often happened on market day when the people

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† The following were the names of those added to the Committee: — Thos. Sadler (Preston), Capt. William Barber, Tho. Cosens, Tho. Bigg (of Porters-end), James Nicholl, of Wellinge, Jo. Clarke, of Ashwell, Wm. Cocks, of Shendley, Tho. Mitchell, jun., Jo. Glover, Wm. Dixon, sen., Capt. Tho. Marshe, Tho. Greenhill, of Langley, Nic. King, jun., Edward Mitchell, Seth Gladman, Jo. Smith, Tho. Nicholls, of Hartford, Tho. Mead, Joseph Dalton, Wm. Lone, Capt. George Strattford, Capt. John Kensey, Capt. Wm. Burre, Timothy Weedon, Jo. Wright, Wm. Erles, Tho. Bailey, George Bannister, Jo. Fowles, Tho. Hanstun, Matthew Collyns, Hugh Parnell, Robt. Draper, Wm. Fielde, Robt. Papworth, and Nath. Paine.

were gathered together from the county for business. All through that "snowy untoward weather" which we learn from Evelyn's Diary began in November, 1643, there is a great Army lying about St. Albans, hungry, discontented and mutinous for want of pay—10,000 Foot and 5,000 Horse was the strength of the Earl of Essex's Army sanctioned by Parliament at the beginning of December. Writing from his head-quarters with this Army at St. Albans to the Committee of Safety 17th December, the Earl says:—

"Yesterday there was a great mutiny of three or four hundred [soldiers] gathered together threatening to pillage the town, but my coming presently dispersed them; otherwise great mischief would have been done, it being market day." * * I have another week's pay for the Foot, from Sergeants downward, for to-morrow, which is all the money that is left, having paid nothing else but what bleeding necessity compelled me to." * * * * Having not been able to relieve divers, whereof some captains, of my own Regiment, that through sickness or hurts, are ready to perish, how the other officers for want of pay will do, I know not." He further adds in a tone of earnest pleading that the train of artillery are in the same condition of necessity, and that "if there be not pay provided for them by the end of this week, I shall never be able to keep them together without plundering the country." * * * The horse for the assistance of Sir William Waller have gone, but without pay, and if those now under Sir William Waller, "be paid, and these unpaid, I fear the issue, though otherwise I never saw men better contented with so little pay. My humble desire is that if there be no pay like to come by the latter end of this week, that I may know, I not being able to stay amongst them to hear the crying necessity of the hungry soldiers."

What were the condition of and demands upon the resources of St. Albans and its neighbourhood, with fifteen thousand unpaid soldiers round about in this plight, can only be left to the imagination of the reader.

To make matters worse, disquieting "advertisements" reached the Committee of Safety that Prince Rupert with six thousand Horse and Foot was on the march from Oxford towards Sir William Waller, and the Earl of Essex was entreated to send forces against these also, lest Sir William Waller's Brigade should be lost. If only his Excellency could send some troops to Windsor, earnest protestations were made that that desperate affair of paying the soldiers around St. Albans, and the Hertfordshire men at Newport Pagnell, should receive their utmost endeavours. In January the town and garrison of Aylesbury were in imminent danger—from a Royalist plot to deliver up the town from within, and from Prince Rupert's forces marching from Oxford without.

Along the hill-tops of the Chilterns, bordering on Herts, Beds, and Bucks, from Wendover to Royston:—the old beacon fires which signalled the approach of the enemy towards London, with the heart of Hertfordshire lying between, were objects to which all eyes turned in the short wintry days and long cold nights.† The whole of this outpost hill country of Hertfordshire on its Northern side afforded exceptional opportunities for obtaining signals of great events happening outside that long, but on the whole well-defended, line of communication, which, extending from Uxbridge *viâ* Aylesbury, Newport Pagnell, Bedford, Cambridge, away to the confines of Norfolk on the Wash, practically shut in, not only the Metropolis, but that great Parliamentary recruiting ground known as the Eastern Counties Association from which Cromwell's "Ironsides" were drawn, and in which no great number of Royalists troops found a footing for long together. To keep this long line of communication unbroken, however, required all the resources of generalship and steadfastness to the Parliamentary cause, and it was never in greater danger than at the end of 1643, when the Earl of Essex, at St. Albans, is so sore beset by the want of money to pay his forces. The Earl of Manchester is at Cambridge, now sending six hundred Foot to Newport Pagnell, now a Regiment to lie at Bedford, besides troops of Horse and Dragoons, the remaining part of the southern wing of his Army "guarding St. Needs (St. Neots), Huntingdon, and the town of Cambridge."

† These old Beacons which shone like stars along the hilly north-west of the county—with their pitch-pan to burn by night, and stacks of damp straw, to raise a column of smoke by day—were not of course a perfect system of signalling, not so perfect as the old semaphores for daily signalling along the same range of hills at a later time, but for conveying tidings of a broad fact such as a great or sudden movement of the King's Forces, they were sufficient to raise an effective alarm and gave the inhabitants of the County time to benefit by the old maxim that to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

Under these circumstances the fate of Aylesbury was one of supreme moment, and the Earl of Essex, though averse to sending out his men, hungry and unpaid, away from St. Albans, to endure the hardships of a winter campaign, did send a part of his Army towards Aylesbury, and there, struggling ineffectually in the fields, now covered with deep snow, Royalists and Parliamentarians, met and fought for a time under great difficulties. Moseley, the governor of Aylesbury, did not fall into the trap set for him, but closed the gates against the Royalists, and 400 of Prince Rupert's soldiers perished in the retreat.

With the Parliamentary troops in this autumn and winter of 1643 in such a miserable state, badly fed, and badly paid, and always in a chronic state verging on rebellion, had the Royalists only been led by generals able to take full advantage of their early victories the cause of the Parliament must have been inevitably lost, and the history of England during the memorable years which followed might have been very different. But there was no consistent and organised plan, and Cromwell and others, who saw and acted upon the immense importance of preparation and discipline, gained time for their organisation to develop into the powerful and invincible force which in the hour of trial it afterwards became.

That threatened attack upon Hertfordshire having again moved away to the westward, the people of St. Albans in general, and the Earl of Essex in particular, found time to attend to an important visitor in the Earl of Bedford who, "being very sensible of his fault in deserting the Parliament and desiring to return and serve them with his life and fortune" came to St. Albans in December, and was cordially received by the Earl of Essex. After a journey to Oxford for the purpose, as he states, of trying to procure his Majesty to comply with his Parliament and finding his efforts fruitless, and throwing himself upon the mercy of Parliament, he adds "I am now come to St. Albans and have now put myself in his Excellency's custody * being ready to undergo what censure your Lordships shall please to impose upon me." That censure took the form of a temporary commitment to the custody of the Gentleman Usher attending the House of Lords, and afterwards imprisonment at Brook House.

The Earl of Bedford had been the Parliamentary General of Horse, and the reader will remember that his troop performed that midnight march to Hertford, and those raids for arms at Hadham Hall and Ware Park, in the August of the previous year. Like some others who had tired of the war, the Earl went off to Oxford to the King, and thus got mixed up with his Army, and unfortunately for that plea of pacific intention on coming a penitent to St. Albans, the Earl got with the King's Army as far as Newbury, fought on the side of the King in the battle in which Falkland fell, and then, repenting of the extremes to which his journey to Oxford had led him, returns to St. Albans to explain his wavering conduct as best he can.

In Oxford, where the King has been spending Christmas and is now setting up a Parliament of his own, there are personal experiences to record of interest to the Hertfordshire reader. The King has made a proclamation dated from "our Court at Oxford" that it may "appear to all the world how grossly those few Members remaining at Westminster have and do impose upon our people," and sets about fighting Parliament with its own weapons—a skilful flank movement which does actually attract to the Parliament at Oxford the majority of the House of Lords at Westminster, and not a few Members of the House of Commons. There in this winter of 1643–4 they are putting up with accommodation very different from their ordinary habits. Among that strange company of courtiers, soldiers, legislators, and county families, all huddled into one huge camp, court and city—partly in bricks and mortar, partly under canvas, and partly under the stars of Heaven—showing no end of self-sacrifice and brightening their shabby-genteel surroundings by splendid acts of devotion—not a few Hertfordshire men and families of note had a place. Prominent among these were the Fanshawes of Ware Park, and the Harrisons, of Balls Park, Hertford—not only the fighting members of the families, but wives and daughters too, living in that city-camp under conditions which, as we shall see presently, gave a colour of romance and adventure to this part of their share in the conflict.

Of the many addresses which passed between King and Parliament and came to nothing, perhaps the most amusing was the carrying of a petition from the Houses of Parliament to the King at Oxford by the Earl of Salisbury, three other Peers and eight Members of the Commons, at which time the notion that the King would be starved out at Oxford was so seriously entertained that waggon loads of provisions of all kinds, including even bread, were sent with the

Committee for their sustenance lest they (the Commissioners) should find nothing to eat when they got to Oxford! They remained there twenty days, and apparently did not need their own provisions.

By the King's device of calling a Parliament of his own at Oxford the old stock Parliament at Westminster stands there, plucked of half its feathers yet proudly holding its own against all sham Parliaments and "worthless imitations" as the only real Parliament in these Kingdoms. On the memorable 22nd of January, 1644, the day on which the King invited the Lords and Commons to join his Parliament at Oxford, the muster roll of the House of Lords at Westminster is called over with a long and significant list of absentees, including, as luck will have it, the name of the Earl of Bridgwater, who has hard enough work afterwards to make it appear that he did not, at least, start towards Oxford, or that his absence was excusable.

The breach in the old Parliamentary ranks is sufficiently serious to convince those that remain that some spirited action is necessary and that on the whole it would be better to be rid of half-hearted friends. So the Westminster Parliament lets the world know that it still "has hold of the handle," and takes the bold course of an ordinance for the general taking of the Solemn League and Covenant passed in the previous September, about three months since, banding together the three kingdoms "for the preservation of religion and maintainance and defence of laws and liberties." It has already been taken in Scotland and also by the City of London and by both Houses of Parliament, and now every person in office, from a member of the County Committee to the Parish Constable is required to take it, besides the inhabitants of every parish.

Henceforth there shall be one open visible test known of all men which shall separate the "well affected" from the "ill affected," and so Hertfordshire men of all ranks are required, in the most public manner possible, to come forth and say Shibboleth! "Will you take the Solemn League and Covenant for the preservation of liberty, law, and gospel? If so, well; if not, we shall know what you are and how to deal with you." The parishioners were to take the Covenant on a particular Sunday, and the manner of administering it was as follows:—"The minister to read the whole Covenant distinctly and audibly in the pulpit; and during the time of reading thereof the whole congregation to be uncovered; and at the end of the reading thereof, all to take it, standing, lifting up their right hands bare; and then afterwards to subscribe it severally, by writing their names or their marks to which their names are to be added, in a parchment roll or book, whereunto the Covenant is to be inserted, purposely provided for that end, and kept as a record in the parish."

One cannot but regret that there is so little left on record of the manner in which the inhabitants of Hertfordshire villages received this dramatic element in the development of the great rugged story of the Civil War. Here and there in old parish chests in the county this old interesting record is still to be met with. In most parishes the record was probably entered,† but considering the fact that nearly half of the Clergy in the County were dispossessed of their livings, and that many of them came back at the Restoration with no very kindly feelings towards any reminder of the doings of the Long Parliament, it can hardly be matter of surprise that a record which was in itself offensive to the post-Restoration clergy, shared the fate of some other things that became out of date at the Restoration.

It may be that many of the parish Churches on that memorable Sunday were sparsely filled, though the constable had power to report and was required to furnish lists of persons refusing the Covenant. Parliament could, however, scarcely have found time to attend to every parishioner so long as the chief officials were secured. The effect of it may have been at first to weaken the cause of Parliament, but it was only a process of weeding out the half-hearted and welding together more strongly the real effective workers — in perfect harmony with Cromwellian methods, both in Parliament and in the field, of working with select tools—that it was better even to increase the number of open enemies by consolidating and strengthening the friends that remained.

† In the Churchwardens' accounts for St. Peter's Parish, St. Albans, there occurs this entry for the year 1643-4—"Paid to Gilbert Spencer for engrossing the Covenant into the parchment roll, 2*s*. 6*d*."

THE HERTFORDSHIREMEN'S LAMENT.—RETURN OF THE KING'S ARMY.—CAVALIERS SHOOTING AT THE PARSON IN THE PULPIT.—"TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL!"

In the Spring of 1644 there were signs of tiring of the burdens and distresses of the conflict. King Charles, sitting with his temporary Lords and Commons at Oxford, had proclaimed "out of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom we do propound and desire that a convenient number of fit persons may be appointed and authorised by you [the Parliament at Westminster] to meet with an equal number of fit persons whom we shall appoint and authorise, to treat of the ways and means to settle the present distractions of this our Kingdom."

The Parliament at Westminster did not, however, like being put on equality with the King's make-shift Parliament at Oxford. The King must come to them, and so the end of the conflict cannot come yet. Meanwhile the freeholders of Hertfordshire are grievously troubled about the burdens resting upon them. All through that trying winter the Army under the Earl of Essex had been lying more or less idle in Hertfordshire, and his Excellency, contrary to his better nature, was obliged, for the want of the money to pay the soldiers, to see them help themselves to such provisions and accommodation as the inhabitants of the county had laid in for the winter for their homes and families.

On the 26th day of February divers gentlemen from the county of Hertford set out for Westminster, the Committee-men already named among the number, to present a petition in person, as was wont in those times, of the state of their county. The lament of the Hertfordshiremen is so graphic that the substance of it is worth reproducing:

"We, your petitioners, having ever since the very beginning of these unhappy distractions wholly given ourselves over, in the hazard of what is most dear to us, against all opposition for the defence of the King and Parliament, which we are still ready to continue to our utmost with all cheerfulness. But now, having groaned these seventeen weeks under the intolerable burden of Free Quarters of many Horse and Foot, under the command of his Excellency the Lord General, the Earl of Essex, the vastness of which charge we forbear to particularise to your Lordships, and hoping * * by humbly representing it to his Excellency, to have found relief from this our so heavy a pressure, whereby we have not of a long while so much as enjoyed the freedom of our own house, but have been in many places subjected to many grievous insolencies, besides the consumption of all our provisions laid in for our families, which hitherto with all patience we have undergone with assured hopes of re-payment."

But his Excellency's only reply to all this was that unless he could get money to pay the soldiers it was not in his Lordship's power and way to relieve them, nor fit that the soldiers should be removed to places of danger unless recruited, and so the lament continues:—

"To which your petitioners, not able to reply, and finding no means of relief of this their so sad a condition, many of us being now cast into deep debts by making provision for the soldiers, are, besides our own utter undoing, rendered unable to sustain our own families, and not possible to pay those sums and monthly taxations laid on our county for the Earl of Manchester and others, some whereof are far beyond the equal proportion agreed on the first by the Committees of the Associated Counties, besides the eating up of those provisions within so nigh a distance of London, as we fear may prove of a far greater inconvenience to the city of London, if not timely forseen and prevented by your wisdoms. All which your petitioners' deplorable condition, we, in all humility, submit to your Lordships' most wise and provident consideration; beseeching your Lordships that your petitioners may not be destroyed by their friends, but that the Army may be speedily recruited and removed, and such rates and taxes that are or shall be laid on the county may be suspended until the damages by free quarters in our county be re-paid, since we never feared nor spared to lay out our lives and fortunes freely for the defence of the Parliament and Commonwealth against all enemies whatsoever."—[*Lords' Journals.*]

The gentlemen that brought this petition having retired, it was taken into consideration. "The gentlemen were called in again and the Speaker, by the directions of the House, told them that their Lordships are very sensible of their burthens by the soldiers, and their Lordships will take their petition into consideration and have a conference with the House of Commons that some speedy course may be taken for

paying of the soldiers and recruiting them, that so the county of Hertford be eased."

What came of these smooth phrases elicited by the Herts petition is not very clear, but in April, 1644, two months after the return of the petitioners to their homes in the county, Parliament found it necessary, for divers weighty reasons, that the former order for additional power to the Committee for Hertfordshire to raise and maintain forces for the defence of the county be continued for the space of four months longer. About this time the Eastern Counties Association were maintaining 14,000 Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and intended to raise a still greater force, and to furnish themselves with a train of artillery.—[*Cooper's Annals of Cambridge.*]

The long line of communication which surrounded Hertfordshire and the City of London on the north and west was again broken through in the spring of 1644. The town of Uxbridge was plundered by some of the forces of the King, to the great impoverishment of the inhabitants, and to the great terror of the county and the City of London, with the result that a spirited move in raising of Volunteers was made after the manner of Watford, Herts. The Parliamentary Army, and the cause, between London and Oxford and in the west was not very encouraging when, with the approach of spring, active operations in the field became once more possible. By the month of April Sir William Waller's victory in the battle of Cheriton had in the words of Essex "bridged over that step between us and death, and —what is worse than death—slavery." But there are other bridges for the Earl of Essex and for the Hertfordshire soldiers to get over.

A great rendezvous of the forces under Essex and Waller was ordered at Aylesbury on April the 19th, but unfortunately a want of harmony between the two commanders delayed the arrangements. The Earl of Essex, bearing with slights and reproaches, as he had done while at St. Albans for months past, puts the case in honest, manly fashion by saying that he first undertook this cause with an honest and single heart and "with no particular end of his own to serve, so he was ready to prosecute it and deserved no longer to live than he should be faithful in it, and though the Earl of Manchester was allowed an army of 14,000 and pay for them, and his own army being reduced in numbers, yet if it were the pleasure of Parliament he would again adventure his life for the service of the cause."

This manly utterance, sent from his old quarters at St. Albans by the Earl, went to the hearts of the people of London, who responded with promises of more forces. By the appointed day, on the 19th of April, however, the Earl and his Army had got no nearer Aylesbury, but were still at St. Albans, while the Earl of Manchester and his favoured Army of 14,000, was disposed to remain in or near the Eastern Counties Association. The County of Hertford had already been called upon to raise 1,500 Foot in the month of March, and is destined to have peculiar and frequent calls upon its resources.

At this time everything seemed to favour the idea of a critical engagement between the King's forces around Oxford and those of the Parliament in Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and around London. For this both sides were preparing, and no small part of the preparations was in getting in provisions for the two great armies. For the general rendezvous of the Parliamentary forces ordered at Aylesbury on April 19th the County of Hertford was appealed to for help to raise the "great supply of victuals for the soldiers, horse meat, horses for mounting musketeers, for carriages, and other occasions incident to an Army." On the other hand, the King was sending out foraging expeditions all round, and appealing to "Our loving subjects" to send in their provisions for payment, candidly telling them at the same time that upon the approach of the rebels "we must and will by our own soldiers fetch so much thereof away as we can, for the provision of our own army, and the rest consume and destroy by fire rather than suffer the same to fall as a prey into their hands." [King's proclamation, *Lords' Journals.*]

On May 8th the Committee in London was urging the Herts Committee that it was high time their regiments were got together at the St. Albans rendezvous; "that the enemy is in motion, and your county lies nearest to the Association, and if they [the enemy] should break in, would be the first to feel the want of an Army of sufficient strength to defend and cover you." The Committee had already one regiment of its Train-Bands in service outside the county.

Eventually, however, the Army under the Earl of Essex does, to the great relief of St. Albans, and of the Hertfordshire people, get on the move towards Oxford and the West. Some brief notes of this ill-fated march were found in the pockets of one of the soldiers at Lostwithiel,

in Cornwall, after the march had ended in disaster and defeat, and these notes are still preserved in the British Museum. † The record is very brief—"From St. Albans to Beaconsfield, from B to Henley, from H," &c., &c., but winds up with a saucy humour, as if a Roger Wildrake had somehow found his way into the Parliamentary ranks, who cared nothing for defeat—"from Bodmin to Lostwithiel, and from thence, like rogues, to ye Divell"!

On May 25th the Herts Committee petitions for the return of their Regiment serving out of the County, and received an answer from the Committee of both Kingdoms, sitting at Derby House in London, that "this Committee conceives their county [Hertfordshire] can be in no hazard in regard the Lord General's Army and that of Sir William Waller are between them and the enemy," and further that the Herts Regiment is "to continue some longer time, concerning the disposal of which they will be informed by this Committee." This was true at the time it was written, but the next ten days abundantly justified the anxiety of the Herts Committee. By the month of June the great lines of communication from London were being hardly pressed and threatened on the Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire side, and before Midsummer-day South Bedfordshire was in the grip of the King's Army, Hertfordshire was seriously threatened, and the beacon fires of the Chilterns, at Therfield, Totternhoe, Ivinghoe, and Wendover, were again flashing their broad messages of terror all through the short summer night.

Far and away the most interesting period of the War for Hertfordshire, both for the alarm occasioned about its own safety caused by the approach of the rival Armies on its borders, and for the share which Hertfordshire men took in the field, was in these spring and summer months of 1644. The Earl of Essex has made his unfortunate march into the West, and while he is there, and Cromwell, Fairfax, and the Scots are engaged in preparing for the great struggle at Marston Moor in the North, the King returned through Oxfordshire, defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge, marched across Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire, with only Sir William Waller, weakened by reverses, now to reckon with, and whom the King, having much the better horse, could easily out-march.

The King had, in fact, just then an army of about 10,000 men, of whom 4,000 were horsemen, and with these he had marched on June 21st from Oxford to Buckingham. The King's army was either marching for the Eastern Counties or upon London, and as no one knew quite which, the greatest alarm spread throughout Herts and Beds and to London. A day or two later the Royalist Army lay all along the border of Bedfordshire, and especially about Dunstable, Hockliffe, Woburn, and Leighton Buzzard. The King himself having reached Buckingham on June 21st, came into Bedfordshire on Saturday, June 22nd, and on all sides a march on London was looked forward to, as appears by the following:—

"There is a great noise that King Charles is coming to London. I could wish he was, but I fear this is only a noise to startle us and stop the cry of some plot or other which the enemy are in hand about." [*Perfect Occurrences*, May, 1644.]

To the people of Hertfordshire the alarm was a very real one, and the Committee, anxious about their defences, again petitions for the return of a regiment, recently at Berkhamsted and Tring, but ordered to Wickham (High Wycombe). The Committee in London sends answer that "this Committee hath a present design in hand wherein their own safety [the Hertfordshire people's) is concerned." The Committee, in a second letter, explain that it is a design "of concernment not far off which affects your own safety, wherein we intend to employ them and others." While these interchanges went on, events were developing in an alarming manner about Dunstable and Leighton. Here, in a county almost unanimous for Parliament, the great army of the Royalists is simply living upon, as well as striking terror into the hearts and homes of, the people.

On Sunday, June 23rd, the alarming stories of the plundering and violence of the Cavaliers which had been spreading all over Hertfordshire received a confirmation which could only add to the terror of the situation. Though the King on his coming into the county of Bedford had issued a proclamation against plundering, there was no alternative but free quarter, and no such discipline as that of Cromwell's to prevent plundering, or effectually punish acts of violence. The first town to fall a victim to the unrestrained license of the Cavaliers was Leighton Buzzard, which they plundered, and then marched away to Hockliffe, whence on the same Sunday evening a party rode into Dunstable and

† Harl. MSS., 939 (64).

added violence to plunder under the circumstances described in the following :—

"1644, June 24th. This morning information was given to the Parliament that on Lord's day last the King passed through Hockley in the Hole [Hockliffe] toward Bedford, and in the way plundered Leighton and sent another party to Dunstable, where they entered the towne when the people were at Church, not contenting themselves with plunder, but made a great disturbance, cutting and slashing the people in the Church, and shot a case of pistols at the minister in the pulpit but missed him and afterwards abused him very humanely [sic]. The like outrage they committed at divers townes and villages thereabout and at Woodbourne [Woburn] the Earl of Bedford's house. They also faced Newport Pannell, but Sir Samuel Luke let fly two or three of his great pieces which set them packing." [*Perfect Diurnal.*]

Such incidents as the sudden appearance of a body of soldiers in a Church and a rude interruption of the service, even to pulling down the preacher out of the pulpit, were not uncommon incidents in the strife, and were probably not confined to one side ; but this affair in the old Priory Church at Dunstable, taken in connection with what had happened at Leighton, and the strength and direction of the movement of the King's forces, was alarming enough ; for apart from the violence it was only another indication of what was generally believed to be intended, viz., an attack upon the Eastern Association, which hitherto had been almost without its Achilles' heel.

Even into the serene atmosphere of the House of Lords the intelligence must have carried some uneasiness when "the Earl of Northumberland came from the Committee of both Kingdoms to acquaint this House that the King is gone into the Associated Counties of Hertford, &c., with his Army." The worst of it was that there was practically no force available to withstand the onward march of the King's Army, and the reports from Sir William Waller's Army somewhere in rear of the King's were not reassuring.

In no part of the surrounding district could such an event as that attack upon the congregation and Minister in Dunstable Church have had a more rousing effect than in those particular Hertfordshire parishes which lay near to the town of Dunstable. In no part of the county of Hertford were the pulpits of the Parish Churches more freely used on the side of Parliament than along the Northern side, extending from Hemel Hempstead, by Dunstable and Luton, to Hitchin. At Kensworth, above the Downs, Edward Harrison, "a great demagogue," is holding forth to crowds of people ; at Redbourn, Philip Leigh, the vicar, has had his weakness for drinking the King's health in a very poor surplice cut short, and Master Rotheram put in his place ; at Harpenden, the inhabitants have unanimously chosen a Puritan minister ; at Kimpton, Thomas Faucett, a violent Royalist incumbent, has got put in prison and replaced by another, while Benjamin King, of Flamstead, "a very Boanerges in the pulpit," who had formerly been one of the lecturers in Dunstable Church, is now one of the Parliamentary band of fifteen lecturers appointed in turn to preach in the Hitchin Parish Church on market day. In these and other pulpits on the North side of the County there were powerful preachers, if extreme men, and from all of them, and from the people likewise, there seems to have gone up a great shout "To your tents, O Israel!" The result which followed was one which perhaps had few parallels even in the Great Civil War.

The Herts Regiment of Militia was away on service outside the county, and without waiting for the slow process of organising more of the Train-Bands and settling who was to pay them, the people in these threatened villages and from the town of Hitchin took the matter into their own hands, and rose to the occasion! Every man not already in arms shouldered such weapon as he could lay his hand upon ; and thus, some with arms and some without, a rude undisciplined force of people, rather than soldiers, came out to defend their homes rather than Parliament. What they were going to do against a force which was not a mere marauding party, but an army of many thousand Horse and Foot soldiers—perhaps the most powerful Army the King had under his immediate command at any time during the War—they did not wait to calculate. It was enough that what had happened in the neighbouring towns of Dunstable and Leighton Buzzard might come to them at any moment; for, whether justly or not, the Cavaliers were associated in the minds of the common people with a disposition to all that was bad in the form of plundering and violence. They were even, in the popular prints, accused of, or rather lampooned for, their cannibalism towards young children whose mothers were frightened into the preposterous belief that they would kill and eat them!

A SUPREME CRISIS FOR HERTFORDSHIRE. —THE RISING OF THE YEOMEN.

> The crisis presses on us,
> Face to face with us it stands!

The question of how the supreme crisis which had arisen was to be met was one of vital importance to Hertfordshire, and the outlook was one almost of despair. The official machinery of the county was hampered by that old question of want of money and by the pressure of burdens already existing. But this was no time for repining over private hardships. Something more effectively organised than the rising of the Yeomen of Hitchin and its neighbourhood must be attempted if the great Army of 10,000 Royalists was to be checked in its march upon London!

It was pretty well-known that Sir William Waller's regiments were "toiling heavily after the King's army" along the borders of Buckinghamshire, but between the Royalist Army, now in South Beds and North Herts, and London, there was at that time actually no Army—not a single troop of regular soldiers in fact—and no considerable force of any kind to oppose the expected march of the King's forces —nothing but the people themselves and such of the Volunteers as could be hastily got together. The King had thus the county of Hertford and London almost at his mercy had he known it.

The very prominence which individual areas such as the county of Hertford assumed in furnishing men and means was a source of weakness as well as strength, and before the end of the second year of the War, this sectional system of warfare under the control of County Committees had almost broken down from a military point of view. As a negative method of placing the county on the defensive for the protection of its own borders it was all very well, and as a means of organising forces and means for the War on fairly equitable lines, always excepting the Royalist families in the counties, it was effective on the positive side, but directly it got into the field of actual war its tendency was to disintegration, by the absence of unity of control. A force raised by and in the pay of the County Committee of Hertfordshire, for instance, was primarily for the defence of the county, and only went outside the county on certain conditions, and when it went the General in command found himself hampered with conflicting interests, with regiments from different counties in a chronic state of discontent for want of pay, and as much inclined to return to their homes as to fight. Orders and counter-orders, and orders which could not always be obeyed, were the inevitable result, and Parliament, busying itself with its theological pigeon-holes and points of casuistry, could only operate by applying general principles to local circumstances which it did not always fully understand.

It was under these circumstances, then, that the supreme moment of the war for Hertfordshire had to be met, and it was at this point that Major-General Browne, who had distinguished himself in an engagement at Cheriton, came prominently upon the scene as the organizer of a defensive force in which Hertfordshire men were to play an interesting if not altogether a gallant part. To Browne, and such forces as he could muster in London, Herts, Beds, and Essex, was entrusted the responsible part of meeting the emergency which had arisen, and in fact of defending the country between London and the Royal Army. Urgent appeals for men were made to the County Committees of Hertford and Essex, and also of Suffolk and Norfolk, to send their Train-Bands to assist in the enterprise. It was expected that 3,000 men would be got together in this way, but a force of Infantry could not safely march across some of the parts of the then wild, open country beyond St. Albans without a cavalry escort, and not a single horse could be had for this purpose.

When the Earl of Essex's Army marched out of Hertfordshire two months before, those who sent horses for the convoy of his foot soldiers had to bring the losses before Parliament to get redress, and it is doubtful if they got it even then, in the midst of so many pressing claims. At the best, Major-General Browne's Army could not be of a very reassuring character—a mixed body of men under the pay of County Committees, reluctantly giving up their ordinary calling, and having no special training for the trying service they were called upon to perform. The fact that the King's forces were marching cross-country, and as far as could be judged as much against the Eastern Association and its head-quarters at Cambridge as against London, modified the organization and marching of the defending forces. The whole county was by Midsummer Day thoroughly alive to the alarming nature of the situation, and many despatches and numberless mounted messengers passed between the Committee for both Kingdoms in

London, and the County Committees; one of them advertising the Committee at Cambridge of what was likely to happen, and advising them to "look to themselves."

The town of Hertford was fixed upon as the rendezvous for the defending force from London, Herts, and Essex, under Major-General Browne. The Hertfordshire regiments of Train-Bands were now at Hertford for this purpose, and the Committee in London on June 23rd directed Major-General Browne "to march to Hertford with three regiments of the City Train-Bands for their assistance." On the same day he sets out with the City troops for Hertford, and next day is able to write that "there will be this night a considerable force at Hertford." But his hopes are a little premature. On the 24th June he has got as far as Barnet, with as bad an outlook as ever a commander had to face. From Barnet he sends this very interesting despatch:—

"I am now at Barnet with the white and red auxiliaries [city forces] and six pieces of ordnance. The Blue Regiment has not yet come to us, having refused to march without a month's advance [of pay]. The whole three regiments if together will not amount to above 500. The enemy, as I am credibly informed, number 10,000, and as many Horse as Foot, quartered about Dunstable and Leyton" [Leighton Buzzard]. As for the King himself, he was with his army taking such fare and accommodation as might fall in his way in a Puritan county:—Now at Woburn Abbey, now at a village parsonage, now at "a yeoman's house," and, anon, having to find accommodation at "a very poor man's house." [*Iter Carolinum.*]

In the meantime that interesting rising of yeomen and peasants in the neighbourhood of Hitchin has got into close quarters with the Royalist forces with disastrous results, of which the following is recorded in Major General Browne's despatch. "It is reported that of 3,000 countrymen who were gathered together at Hitchin, 300 were not armed, and upon an alarm most ran away. Nor can I hear of any considerable force to join with us hereabouts, and indeed, I cannot imagine what we shall do to secure ourselves, having no horse. If the design be thought considerable I desire more strength may be speedily sent to us. Your pleasures I shall humbly await, and your orders obey though to our utter ruin."

But the impassive Committee at Derby House, unmoved by the pitiable plight of the three thousand country men about Hitchin unarmed and running away before such a powerful Army, or by the almost helpless position of Major-General Browne himself, waiting there at Barnet for the Blue Regiment, which will not come without pay in advance—in face of all this the London Committee goes on placidly with its letter-writing, and on the very same day that Browne writes thus despairingly they write hopefully enough of Browne's march, and of the three City Regiments, and assert that the forces of the Associated Counties "gather in considerable numbers with great cheerfulness to oppose the enemy"!

Happily for Hertfordshire, and for London, a movement of the King's forces back across towards Aylesbury, instead of Cambridge way, alters the aspect of affairs, and London will have to be defended westward instead of eastward. General Browne writes on the 26th of June that two of the Herts Committee report to him that their scouts had come in stating that the King's forces were set down before Aylesbury, and that "they were playing their great guns against it"; a fact which could almost be verified by observation from the western corner of Hertfordshire upon the fine old Beacon Hill above Ivinghoe. General Browne thereupon suggests that Hertford will be a little out of the way as a rendezvous if this be true, and adds "the Blue Regiment being now come in, I am beating my drums and intend to march this night to St. Albans the direct way to Aylesbury."

The Essex regiments which were to be sent from Chelmsford and meet the others at Hertford are left to follow on. General Browne recommends that the Hertfordshire forces shall be under the command of Sir John Wittewrong (of Rothamstead), but there are many local difficulties to be overcome before he can get on the march at all.

Nothing daunted, however, he goes on to St. Albans, hoping for better things, but here he is met with a new difficulty, or rather with the re-appearance of an old one, for the Herts County Committee have something to say, and as long as the King and his Army are only "playing their great guns" against Aylesbury, and not against St. Albans and Hertford, they are not very anxious about raising this army for defending London. General Browne meets the Herts Committee, or as many of them as can be got together at St. Albans, and the meeting is enough to break the heart of any soldier! The Committee in London had already written to the Herts Committee

urging them to get together their forces, but to little purpose and for a cause which is thus explained. General Browne in his account of the meeting at St. Albans complains that though the Ordinance of Parliament enabled any seven of the County Committee to act, and notwithstanding that there were more than seven members present, they refused to conclude anything without the advice of the rest of the Committee "who are at Hertford or elsewhere." Beside this, they ask the General, oblivious of the big guns thundering away at the gates of Aylesbury, who is to pay the soldiers? and venture to remind the harrassed commander of the fact that Train-Bands are not bound to go a step beyond the limits of their own county! In his letter to the London Committee General Browne says that all he could do was to get these Committee-men at St. Albans to go and get the other Committee-men at Hertford to come to St. Albans or to get their consent to what was desired. He adds that the gentlemen of the Militia seemed to show a great averseness, and seemed resolved not to march out of their own county at all. Sir John Garrard, an officer and a Committee-man, stood up and made the crushing declaration that "the greater part of his regiment was disbanded for want of pay, and he was confident that the rest would not march without money!" Upon that Browne adds the remark "I pray God that I may not find the Essex forces in the same unwilling condition." Alas! they will be even worse, as we shall see.

There was, in fact, a difference between the Committee of Safety for the County and the Committee for the Militia, but General Browne, with the resource and directness of aim of a true soldier, writes nevertheless that he is determined to join with Waller as directed by the London Committee, "rather than spin out time with these Committees in tedious and delaying disputes." But his troubles had not ended, for, after another chase of the Herts Committee-men [which was rather movable in its character according to its own convenience] he writes from St. Albans on Jnne 28th :—

"Yesterday I was enforced to ride to Hitchin and attend the Herts Committee there for the better expedition of their march, but to small purpose. Coming home in the evening I received a letter from Sir Samuel Luke [member for Bedford and Governor of Newport Pagnell] with a copy of Waller's letter * * that he intended next day to fall upon the King's forces."

This was enough to try the mettle of a commander, eager for the fray, and so to cut the gordian knot General Browne took strong measures, and adds:

"I forthwith sent out warrants, in express terms, requiring the several forces of Herts and Essex to march this morning and meet me to-night at Dunstable or as near as they possibly can. Thither I am now marching that we may come to Waller's timely assistance if possible. I understand by themselves that the commanders of these forces are very young soldiers, and am afraid I shall labour under a great deal more trouble." On the same day, the Committee in London orders a supply of ammunition to be sent off, and General Browne's bold manœuvre appears to have shamed the County Committees into some sort of acquiescence, and he finds himself in command of 4,000 men, of which 1,000 are from London, and 3,000 from Herts and Essex, but from Suffolk and Norfolk, from whose doors the storm has now passed westward a little—not a single man comes into Dunstable.

As much from the circumstances under which the force had been got together as from its numbers, that march out of Dunstable was one which, with their recent experience of the alarming incident at the Priory Church, must have moved the Dunstable people to quit their houses and wish the Herts, Essex, and London Train-Bands God-speed, as, with the blare of trumpet and beat of drum, they marched up what is now West Street to the Downs, along the old historic Icknield Way—a moving mass of brilliant colours, accentuated with the red, white and blue uniforms of the three London regiments. At any other time but summer time, and along many roads even then, it might have been unsafe for such a body of foot soldiers to have marched that nine or ten miles to Tring and Berkhamsted with no cavalry escort. But the whole road-way, connected by the Totternhoe and Ivinghoe Beacon-hills, commanded an uninterrupted view of the enemy's country over a line of hills extending from Leighton Buzzard by Mentmore to Aylesbury, and there was nothing for it but to risk the march and meet Colonel Norton's 500 horse from Windsor at the Berkhamsted rendezvous.

Along the road through Watford are travelling for the same rendezvous at Berkhamsted the

stores of powder, bullet and match and £10,000 in money to pay the troops with, ordered by Parliament. The Herts Committee are once more appealed to by the Committee in London, "in consideration of their late danger from the King's Forces," to continue to send all the forces they can.

HERTFORDSHIREMEN ON THE MARCH.—MILITARY GLORY VERSUS HARVEST WAGES.

Upon the arrival at the rendezvous at Berkhamsted, of the Herts and Essex Forces which had marched from Dunstable, some part of them were, apparently, despatched to the siege of Greenland House, a Royalist stronghold on the road towards Oxford, while the main body was held back by Browne to effect a junction with Waller, who was defeated on June 22nd at Cropredy Bridge.† Of their adventures, there is an interesting record in the letters and despatches preserved in the State Papers. The Committee in London wrote to the Herts Committee in July asking that the Herts forces now at the siege of Greenland House may be continued there "till we can replace them by others." Upon the same day the Committee writes to the Herts Commanders now before Greenland House, stating that :—

"By the King's removal to Aynho we conceive he is at such a short distance that he may endanger your quarters by sending a party to fall upon you. You are therefore to be more careful of your guards and scouts. If there be cause you had better secure yourselves and the artillery in your charge either by making to Henley or by retreating to Windsor, or by such ways as you, being upon the place, may find most for the advantage of the service, for which purpose we request you should have a draft of horse always in readiness. We presume you take notice of a place near Mill End [which is] fordable."

But a more sensational series of adventures happened to the great body of the Herts and Essex men and the City Train-Bands who marched from Berkhamsted towards Sir William Waller. Major-General Browne, following the example of the Earl of Essex, remained with his head-quarters at St. Albans whilst the rendezvous was taking place at Berkhamsted, and it was while here that the startling news of Waller's defeat at Cropredy Bridge reached him. Browne at once commenced a forced march with the Herts and Essex men to join with Waller. Writing of this march, under date July 5th, Browne says :—"Being at St. Albans when the news arrived of Waller's engagement with the enemy, I hastened up my force to advance to his relief and marched to Buckingham and came on Monday night somewhat near the enemy, which caused them to retreat. On Tuesday we met with Sir William Waller at Tosster [Towcester] and together we came to Northampton last night, where we held a Council of War."

He adds that he intends to march by way of Stony Stratford and Aylesbury to Greenland House, and concludes with this significant postscript—"I propose to take along with me the country force to Aylesbury ere I discharge them, waiting to know your pleasure concerning them. When these are gone I shall have but few left, and am confident many of these few will be gone also if you take not timely course to send them money." The full meaning of this postscript is clearly brought out in the following despatch from Sir William Waller, whose summing up of the Herts and Essex men, and indeed of the City men too, was forcible if not polite. Writing from Northampton, on July 7th, upon the arrival of Browne's force after their long march from Berkhamsted, Sir William Waller says :—

"The meeting with Major-General Browne, which I thought would have proved an addition of strength to me, has very much weakened me, for my London regiment immediately looked upon his force as sent to relieve them, and, without waiting for further orders, are most departed. Yesterday 400 out of one regiment quitted their colours. While Browne's men, being mostly Train-Bands men of Essex and Herts, are so mutinous and uncommandable that there is no hope of their stay ; they likewise are upon their march home again. Yesterday they were liked to have killed their Major-General, and they have hurt him in the face ; *such men are only fit for the gallows here and a hell hereafter.* [The italics are not Sir William Waller's.] The enemy's force lie at Evesham and plundering all around them. They made an offer to march further to Shrewsbury, but I suppose this late

† The news of the defeat of Sir William Waller by the King's forces at Cropredy Bridge had a special interest for the Hertfordshire people, by reason of its nearness, of the direction the Hertfordshire soldiers were marching, and also because a member of a distinguished Hertfordshire family, Sir William Butler, husband of one of Sir John Harrison's daughters, of Balls Park, Hertford, was killed in the fight.

success in the North [the battle of Marston Moor had been fought two days before this] has altered their resolution. I am confident about 2,000 Londoners have run away from their colours."

The Committee in London could not change the character of the men or the conditions of their employment very well, and so it sends to the Herts and Essex Committee the "good news from York," hoping the victory at Marston Moor† would put some heart into this special service. Wages would have been a more effective stimulus than "good news," but fairness compels me to add that the ringleaders were really Waller's own London men who had been singing of "home, home," before the Herts and Essex men arrived, and that afterwards the Essex men were the ringleaders, though the Herts men were equally sensitive about such a soldier's trifle as a "night or two's ill-quartering."

As they were toiling along from Stony Stratford to Aylesbury we get to know what Browne himself thought of these warriors from the plough-tail and of their commanders. Writing from Aylesbury on July 8th, he says :—

"I was resolved for Greenland House, and made more haste because I heard the enemy was before it. Truly the regiments of Herts and Essex are weary of their service, and I have laboured through many difficulties to bring them hither, but find them to be in that spirit that they will not be ordered without mutiny, through which my life has been endangered by the attempts of some of them, for which I have called one before a Council of War, where he was condemned to die. Yet I have pardoned him, hoping to win the rest. Being now at Aylesbury the commanders of the said regiment assure me that their soldiers cannot, yea will not, march to-morrow, and I fear not at all, except, homeward, the cause of which I wish may not proceed, partly from the backwardness of some of the commanders themselves."

Two days later, on July 10th, the discontented forces were roused to a further march, and Browne writes, in reply to an order to march to Greenland House :—"I instantly beat drums and began to march at four or five in the afternoon, and by marching all night am got to Wickham (High Wycombe). I hear that the siege [Greenland House] is continued, and now tiredness of the soldiers will not let me be there before the morning. I shall take along with me as many of the country forces as I can." At last the Hertfordshire men, tired of their all night marching, and no pay, and thinking only of home, harvest work and good wages, find themselves face to face with the necessity for a little actual fighting as they join their comrades who had been there before them. Only a few shots were fired, however, before the place capitulated. †

On the 19th July, the Grand Jury at the Herts Quarter Sessions were making presentment "that in regard their harvest is at hand and their labourers few to gather it, some part of their soldiers * * may be for a while recalled to assist herein." The Committee of the Militia and the fighting men of the County took a different view from the middle-class Grand Jury, and presented their own petition, of which I here transcribe the substance :—

"All three regiments in this county are in actual service out of the county, the payment whereof amounteth each week to about £1,000. They daily solicit us for money. We accordingly sent out warrants for levying thereof, but money not coming in proportionately to our disbursements, we have been obliged, to prevent the disbanding of our soldiers, to borrow some hundreds of pounds upon our own credit, and provide ammunition and pay our soldiers, and also to send letters to divers able persons to borrow money of them, which for a time did bring in some quantities of money to supply our occasions. But since the new Ordinance of Parliament, 5th of July, which seemed to transfer the powers of the Militia from the Committee to the Lord Lieutenant and Deputy-Lieutenants, little or no money upon the said letters, or other taxes, has been brought in. But the ill-affected assembled in great numbers, triumph in the new Ordinance, and vilifying the Committee and Commanders—men who will willingly sacrifice their lives for defence of Parliament—by us employed, and upon Monday, 8th present, at the Quarter Sessions, three or four ill-affected persons

† When the right wing of the Parliamentary Army at Marston Moor was put to route by Rupert's Cavaliers, the other wing was the Earl of Manchester's Horse raised from Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, and other counties of the Association and "both for arms, men and horse the compleatest regiment in England * * more absolutely at the command of Col. Cromwell."—[*Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War.*]

† What these old Royalist mansions became when fortified, and the enormous stores of provisions and ammunition with which they were provided, may be seen by referring to the pages of Joshua Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva, or England's Recovery.*

caused a petition in the name of the whole county to be by the Grand Jury—men not well versed in business of this nature—presented to the Bench, complaining of the oppression by us for maintaining of Militia, whereas what we have done has been at the command of this (your) Committee, and from a deep sense of the Kingdom's necessity so requiring. In brief, the main scope of their endeavour is to alienate the affections of the people from the Committee for the Militia, whereby money may be withheld, which must occasion the disbanding of our soldiers, erect the shadow of a Militia, instead of the substance, and by degrees make the Malignant the prevailing party. We therefore pray that the time limited in the Ordinance being nearly expired that the Ordinance may be renewed, so that they may be able to make payment of the money borrowed for maintaining their regiments, and to perfect that work wherein they have so far proceeded. and that in the Ordinance to be renewed, those of their Committee who seldom attend, and show disaffection to the Parliament cause, may be left out, and those continued on it protected from any oppression through the new Ordinance which they may expect in regard of the service they have done."

One point in this petition throws an interesting light upon a practice which had to be frequently resorted to in carrying on the Civil War—on the side of the King it was always a necessity, on the side of the Parliament frequently so when the regular means failed—viz., that wherever an individual was known to possess ready money, and inclined to, or could be persuaded into favouring one cause or the other, the claims made upon him were constant and pressing, either for loans upon some sort of security already over-mortgaged, or as a free contribution. Of this character were the letters sent out, "to divers able persons to borrow money of them," referred to in the above petition. One of these identical letters, preserved in the State Papers, I am able to give below. The letter is dated, "Hertford, July 4th, 1644"—in the same week that Hertfordshire soldiers were performing that forced march from St. Albans to Northampton and back to Aylesbury—and is as follows :—

"From the Deputy-Lieutenants of Herts to Mr. Wm. King, of Hoddesdon."

"You cannot but know of the sudden commands from the Committee of both Kingdoms that our two regiments should march with Major-General Browne, and with all speed join Sir William Waller, who is engaged with the enemy. As the sudden posting away our forces could not admit time to collect the assessments for the supply of our soldiers, and to keep up the spirits of our dear countrymen who fight for us, we earnestly desire you to lend £10 which is to be sent to the Committee for the Militia in Herts, who will post it presently to the Army ; and for such money as you may please to lend we will give you a ticket to secure your repayment out of the money to be collected."

Now, Mr. William King, of Hoddesdon, was a kind-hearted man, to whom that little touch of nature about keeping up the spirits of "our dear countrymen who fight for us" [save the mark ! for they were on the point of running home when this was written] was irresistible, and the letter is endorsed with the prompt acknowledgment by William Turner, treasurer, for "£10 received of William King, 6th July, 1644"—two days after the inditing of the appeal, by return of post, in fact. Similar letters were probably sent to many other persons in the county, and let us hope for the sake of their dear countrymen around Aylesbury—who, after all, were not cowards so much as soldiers on strike—that the appeals were as promptly responded to as by Mr. King. Major-General Browne had some difficulty in keeping the Herts commanders as well as men in the field, but gets them as far as Reading to fortify it, where he will be "near Basing House (a Royalist stronghold stoutly held by a Hertfordshire man, Col. Rawdon, of Hoddesdon), but in no capacity to assist the besiegers." In the meantime, however, it is a question whether military glory or harvest wages shall prevail, and on the 22nd of July the Committee write to Browne :—

"We have been often solicited by the Committee of Herts for the return of their regiments, and last week gave them assurance that they should return by the 25th present. Considering the necessity of their attendance upon their harvest and their cheerful readiness at all times to serve the public, we have thought fit to discharge them that they may by Thursday next march home unto their own country. We desire you to take notice hereof and dismiss them accordingly." To the Herts Committee they write the same day expressing the hope that their "harvest occasions * * being finished we doubt not you will display the same good affection to the public service should there be cause."

It was not that Hertfordshire had lost heart in the cause, that there was discontent. Hertfordshire had contributed no small number to Cromwell's Ironsides, and we have it upon the

authority of Capt. Titus, of Bushey, that Hertfordshire soldiers at Newbury were "pretty well vers'd in the several sounds of bullets." It was a question of money and a fair share of burdens rather than valour or the want of it. About the same time that the County Train-Bands were marching towards Aylesbury Hertfordshire had to raise a levy of 500 Foot, 50 Horse, and 50 Dragoons. These and others under Sir John Garrard, at Newport Pagnell, in August marched to join Browne at Abingdon, but had disputes about the choice of officers on the way. There they got an unpleasant taste of a soldier's life, for provisions were scarce and dear, "hardly to be had for money." Besides this their quarters were very strait, "with ten men in a room, besides many sick." Verily the lot of a foot soldier during the Civil War was not a rosy one, and many of these Hertfordshire levies for permanent service who laughed at the returning Train-Bandsmen, found that the laugh was not all on their side!

I have entered thus fully into the experience of Hertfordshire men during the critical summer of 1644, not because their part in the War at that time has left any brilliant or heroic deeds to chronicle, not altogether because of the issues involved, momentous though they were, if the progress of the King's Army had continued southwards unchecked, but as showing us the effect of the War at the interesting point where it came in contact with popular needs. That contact brings into strong relief the broad principle that, even in an age when representative institutions had been trampled upon by the misguided actions of a Stuart King, success in war and prosperity in peace could not be attained without some regard to the ordinary needs of the people. The flattering recognition by Parliament and its Committee of the cheerfulness of the county to the public service, cannot disguise the fact that the draining of the resources of the county people, very largely for the benefit of London, had been strained to the breaking point just when the Committee for both Kingdoms removed the last straw by allowing the Hertfordshire Volunteers to return to their homes. During that critical summer, within about six months, the county of Hertford had sent into the field about 5,000 men, whom for the most part it had to pay, even though the money was begged or borrowed, besides having to keep up its weekly assessments for the General Army, and having many soldiers raised by previous levies in the service of the Army in the more stirring events of Marston Moor and elsewhere.

Had that formidable army which had terrified Dunstable and Leighton, and chased away the Hitchin Yeomen, continued its advance through Hertfordshire, the county people must of course have suffered untold misery. But if the advance meant disaster for Hertfordshire, what did it mean for London itself? Had the King only known how little resistance there really was to oppose his march through Hertfordshire when Major-General Browne undertook that forlorn hope of raising an army to join Waller, or how hampered was Waller himself though in his rear † that attempted march into the Eastern Counties and upon London might have had very sensational results!

Either the City of London was at the time half-hearted in opposing the King's march, or it allowed itself to be guilty of a signal act of injustice in taking advantage of a neighbouring county like Hertfordshire, whose situation made it, in a sense, a buffer between the Royalist Army and the City and its Parliament. At any rate, London, whose citizens could fight when they chose, with all the issues at stake could only send down a paltry 500 of its Train-Bands in their showy red, white, and blue coats, and swaggering impotence, leaving to the county of Hertford, mainly, burdens enough to provoke all the mutinous discontent of her soldiers and the divisions in the County Committee.

Over and over again, when it was known that the King's forces were marching towards, with designs upon, London, Parliament and its Committee of Safety appealed to the fears of the Hertfordshire people—telling them that "by reason of your nearness to London you may be in more danger than places more remote, and therefore need be in the better posture against them"—an appeal which, with the risk of a Royalist invasion from over the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire borders, generally roused the county of Hertford to do more than its share of defensive warfare. By the necessities of the case, whatever secured Hertfordshire helped very materially to secure London, and Parliament and the City knew it; while the people of Hertfordshire, with a powerful army hanging close on their borders, had little choice but to make the required sacrifice.

† As appears by the list of his marches still extant [Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus.] Waller never got any nearer the parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire exposed to the King's march than Buckingham, though the frequent entry against each night of the words "lodged in the field" shows that Waller did his best to continue the weary march.

RECRUITING FOR THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.

HERTFORDSHIRE MEN IN THE FIGHT.

THE KING AND THE CAVALIERS.

In September the Earl of Essex, who had marched from St. Albans westwards, leaving Waller to deal with the King with the results already described, sustained a humiliating defeat at Lostwithiel in Cornwall, and it was there that the soldier was found with the notes of the march from St. Albans in his pocket already referred to. How to repair the fortunes in the West was a matter of great concern, but Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester had had a quarrel. Sir William Waller was in desperate straits around Oxford, hoping against hope for Manchester to come to his aid. The Earl of Manchester is lying about the borders of Hertfordshire and not much inclined to move away. On the 8th of September he had heard of the defeat at Lostwithiel, and by the 22nd he with his Army was still moving slowly through Hertfordshire, confessing that he "was weary of the War, and shall submit to anything that would conduce to the despatch of it." As it took the Earl three days to get a few miles—from Watford to Harefield—it is just possible that the son of Mars was also under the influence of Venus and that he may have found an attraction at Gorhambury, where about this time Lady Sussex is feebly denying the soft impeachment that she is for the third time "towards matrymony." †

The Royalist tactics had not been given up, and at the end of September the belief was entertained in the Royalist camp that the King would "winter in Norfolk." Then came, in October, the second battle of Newbury, and the confession of Sir A. Haselrig that "if we beat the King ninety and nine times, yet he is King still and so will his posterity be after him ; but if the King beat us once we shall all be hanged and our posterity made slaves." Elated over the disorganization of the Parliamentary forces, which had set out in the spring to crush him, the King in November enters Oxford in triumph.

In the autumn and winter of 1644-5 the Herts Militia frequently did garrison duty at Aylesbury, Newport Pagnell, and other places, and all through those busy years the great thoroughfares through Ware and Royston, and especially along Watling Street through St. Albans and Dunstable, were the scenes of continual trains of ammunition and stores, invariably accompanied from point to point by an escort of about 100 horse, raised within the county under great difficulty, and sometimes without pay for the service until no end of trouble had been taken to get it.

At last the system of Parliamentary warfare largely by county committees and the consequent military disorganization in the field led up to the Ordinance for the New Model Army, but before its wholesome effect could be felt the old faulty expedient of "swopping horses while crossing the stream" received illustration, and the county of Hertford found itself in the grip of a lawless soldiery. The Herts County Committee threatened to recall their own county forces to drive the Lord General's Horse out of the county, owing to a mutiny ! Recruits went about the county committing acts of violence upon the houses of the inhabitants until the justices of the peace could stand it no longer. Twelve of the offenders were brought up at St. Albans, and two of them sentenced to death, and upon the matter being reported to Parliament the House instructed Sir Thomas Dacres, member for the county, to acquaint the Justices of the Peace that the two soldiers were to be left to the law and executed.†

But the work of re-modelling the Army went steadily on, and the stern discipline meted out to the Hertfordshire pressed men was enforced against all deserters, mutineers, and plunderers, who were freely hanged, and "blasphemers had their tongues bored through with hot irons." At the end of April every town in Hertfordshire was roused by drum and trumpet proclaiming the following order of Parliament :—"That all officers and soldiers under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax do presently (all excuse set apart, and notwithstanding any leave or pretence whatsoever) repair to their colours, and to be there to-morrow the thirtieth of this instant, April, by twelve of the clock at noon at the farthest, upon pain of cashiering to the officers and of death to the soldiers without mercy."

† "May be you harde i was towards matrymony, but i shall never finde a man to my hart my sone's wifes last marede the lorde (Rochester) may bee a warning to me." [Lady Sussex to Sir Ralph Verney.] As it turned out the Earl of Warwick became her third husband shortly after this, and after him the Earl of Manchester became her fourth!

† It should be understood that these were not regular Parliamentary soldiers, but newly pressed men for the New Model Army, and consequently it is of no value as an indication of the rival parties in the county, for whom such men had little care either way.

It was in the midst of vigorous recruiting by Cromwell, just before the Battle of Naseby, that John Bunyan, the immortal tinker of Bedford, then a youth of sixteen, and consequently just above the recruiting age fixed by Parliament for its levies, was pressed into the Army and taken from his home at Elstow to serve, not I imagine in the Royalist Army, as some writers—with too little regard for the conditions of the county of Bedford at the time—have stated, but on the side of Parliament. Dr. Brown, in his *Life of Bunyan*, has, I think, very fairly disposed of the idea of Bunyan serving as a Royalist soldier; in fact Royalist recruiting at that time in Bedfordshire would have been well-nigh impossible, and we do know that at this particular time vigorous pressing for the Parliamentary Army was going forward in Herts and Cambs, and the same thing no doubt was happening in Bedfordshire.

There was a congestion of troops in and around Hertfordshire waiting for the coming conflict, which threatened to become burdensome. The stress of war in the great arena of the North, in which Fairfax and Cromwell were the leaders, was pressing southwards. The House of Commons ordered that the matter of the speedy employment of the large body of troops in Hertfordshire and neighbouring counties be considered, "the counties not being able to endure the burden of them." The Artillery was ordered to concentrate at Cambridge and other garrisons. The efforts directed towards reducing Oxford led to fresh demands upon Hertfordshire and the associated counties, and the War at the beginning of June was full of absorbing interest for London and the Home Counties. Fairfax is as near as Stony Stratford, and the King's Forces are around Daventry "seizing cattle and sheep for the garrison of Oxford," and a great battle is evidently close at hand.

Cromwell, foreseeing the issue that is coming, stirs up the people of Cambridgeshire and adjoining counties, and is able to promise 3,000 Foot and 1,000 Horse, and it is interesting to note that the agricultural population responded handsomely. For the associated Counties, we are told, sent men in with "incredible speed and alacrity. * * Threescore men out of one poore petty village in Cambridgeshire in which, to see it, none would have thought that there had been fifty fighting men in it. The Lieutenant-General [Cromwell] did manage affairs very discreetly. Our Armies have shown themselves extraordinary swift in their motions to their rendezvous to pursue the King's Army to some purpose and to make the Royall pipe to play a new song." [*Exchange Intelligencer*, King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus., E. 388.]

That Hertfordshire villages also contributed their quota of men for Cromwell's recruiting sergeants is quite clear from the fact that on the eve of the great battle of Naseby, just three days before that event, in fact, the Hertfordshire Horse and Dragoons received orders to march to Bedford, and there at the rendezvous appointed meet Cromwell's own Horse and Dragoons marching from Cambridge. Fairfax had written to Parliament that he "marches towards the Enemy in the morning," and the Hertfordshire men were ordered to march to Bedford with all expedition, "the Parliamentary Army being very nigh the King's Army, we know not how soon they may engage, and therefore desire that they may have all addition (of force) that may be, before their engagement."

Away on the hills about Market Harborough, and here in the villages of Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Bedfordshire, a great deal of interest was taken in the question whether Cromwell with his promised 1,000 Horse and 3,000 Foot would arrive in time for the great battle impending, while in London "it is hoped he will come in time enough for a reserve if not for the main battle." [*Perfect Occurrences.*] A letter in one of the journals of the 12th, two days before the Naseby fight, states that Cromwell with his 1,000 Horse and 3,000 Foot "were last night about Bedford, Hitchin, and Royston, and are expected to come to him [Fairfax] this night." [*Mercurius Civicus.*]

The issue of the great battle of Naseby, and possibly a part of the history of England, hangs upon that question whether Cromwell gets away from Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire in time for the battle; for his absence and that of his 1,000 Horse might have turned the scale at a critical point in a War which was so largely a War of cavalry. From the fact that Cromwell did arrive in time for the battle, and put into that old Parliamentary motto, *Cave adsum*, such a crushing and terrible meaning, we may conclude almost for a certainty that those Hertfordshire troops which had marched from Hitchin and Royston to meet Cromwell at Bedford, took their share in the engagement, and that the yeomen of Hertfordshire formed a part of the famous body of Horse with which Cromwell arrived on the eve of the Battle and was received with a "mighty shout" by the regiments of Fairfax's Army, who had been so anxiously waiting for "Old Ironsides" to appear! On June 16th the House of Commons

can scarcely wait for prayers being over before voting "that ten pounds be bestowed upon the messenger that brought the letter from Mr. Rushworth to Mr. Speaker, concerning the great blessing it pleased God to bestow upon the Parliament's Army under the command of Sir Tho. Fairfax in a great victory obtained over the King's forces on Saturday last near Knasby."

To Hertfordshire, this decisive event in the War brought once more a share of its consequences, for within three days of the great battle of Naseby, in which 3,000 soldiers and 500 officers were taken prisoners by the Parliamentary Army, the highways through Hertfordshire presented a remarkable scene, as Royalist prisoners were marched to St. Albans, Hertford, and other towns in the County. So many were there that it was found necessary to detain them on the road in Hertfordshire and not allow them to enter London. Thus, Col. Fiennes was ordered to "stay all the soldiers prisoners at St. Albans" till further directions were given for distributing them over the various counties, and to take care that they "steal not away." St. Albans prison was full of them, and their maintenance became burdensome to the people of the town. By June 21st, a week after the Battle of Naseby, some of them had been taken up to London, and upon that day 3,000 prisoners were led in triumph through the streets of the City. Tales of the horrors of the fight spread over Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire and frightened the new recruits, and vigorous action was taken through Capt. Wingate for Herts, and Sir Dudley North for Cambs, for punishing impressed soldiers "who have run away from their colours."

In the month of August there was another of those incursions of the Royalist Army into the Eastern Counties Association, which left its impress especially in the old quarters of South Bedfordshire. The King, marching northwards, after the crushing defeat at Naseby, for tidings of Montrose, whose defeat of the Covenanters had just made him "master of all Scotland," found himself in danger of getting between two forces. So he with the remnant of his Army, made once again for the Eastern Association, and it was necessary to keep on the move, for his Majesty's present forces could deal with smaller bodies to be met in front of them better than the Army behind. Just before reaching Huntingdon, near Stilton, the King and his troops "mett with a body of Horse lately raised in Suffolk and Essex, about 400." With these they had a brush, and "about 100 and a Major were taken that night."

The remnant of the Parliamentary Horse evidently fell back upon Huntingdon, where the King intended to rest on the Sunday, and upon his Majesty nearing that town with his troops on the Saturday night they found the way blocked and the Huntingdon people with the Parliamentary troops behind their crude earthworks, inclined to resist the King's entry. "They a little disputed Huntingdon, but wee entered, notwithstanding a large ditch encompassed it, and the rebells ran away to Cambridge." [*Marchings of the Royal Army, His Majesty being present, from 17th August*, 1645.—Harl. MSS., 944 Brit. Mus.] On Sunday, August 24th, his Majesty rested at Huntingdon and stayed at the "George Inn." [*Iter Carolinum.*]

Writing from Huntingdon the King pledged himself that let his condition be never so low or his success never so ill, he was resolved by the grace of God never to yield up the Church to the government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents, nor lessen the military power of the Crown received from his predecessors, and that whoever tried to persuade him this would be either a "knave or a fool."† With a Parliamentary Army now close at his heels, to remain at Huntingdon would have been out of the question, and so his Majesty sets out for Woburn, Beds, but not before the Cavaliers had provided for their needs in a very free and easy fashion at the expense of the inhabitants. According to Parliamentary version the soldiers "fetched in sheep for the landlords at the inns to dress for them; swearing that they would spit their children, and on leaving they drove away herds of cattle about 600 or 700 and made the owners pay a mark each to get them back," and that "they left scarce a horse in either Godmanchester or Huntingdon, nor in any other they marched through, so that the country knew not how to get in their corn." [*Wallington's Historical Notices.*]

This is confirmed by a Royalist account, for Sir Henry Slingsby in his diary admits that "the soldiers got some plunder." As a finishing touch to their work, the Cavaliers went to the Huntingdon gaol, "which was then full of prisoners, felons, and men condemned in law for gross robberies and

† While at Huntingdon the King caused Col. Cromwell, "kinsman of the other," High Sheriff, to send out warrants for the country people to come to his Majesty, and about 400 presented themselves to the King as he passed by Godmanchester, to whom the King sent his thanks and told them that he should not want them at that time. [*Slingsby's Diary.*]

murders, and knocked off the irons of all of them and set them free." It is not surprising after this to be told that "the liberated prisoners have all taken up arms for his Majesty." Proceeding across into Bedfordshire they stripped the country as they went. The King probably could not stop this if he would, though it seems he did hang one man on a sign-post because he stole the Communion plate out of one of the churches (at Wing, near Leighton). The King stayed at Woburn Abbey on his way to Oxford, and the people of Woburn appear to have fared little better than in other places through the presence of the Cavaliers.

In order to meet such experiences as the foregoing, the inhabitants of towns in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire left their maltings to defend their homes when occasion arose; and, in the spirit of the Clubmen of the West, went forth with the challenge:—

If you offer to plunder or take our Cattel
Be assured we will bid you Battel.

Thus in November, 1645, a strong force of the King's Horse, 600 or 700 strong, marched across Bedfordshire for the purpose of levying contributions. When they got as far as Woburn, the unfortunate town which had suffered in August, as stated above, they sent forward a forlorn hope, the townsmen took to their arms, and repulsed the troopers; then a stronger party came to the attack, "and being beaten back out of the town three several times with loss of some considerable men besides many wounded on the enemy's part, through the great valour and resolution of a small party of our own townsmen," the enemy brought into the town their whole body of Horse, overpowered the small valiant band of Woburnians, who had to shift for themselves, and being "disappointed of their design to capture the town of Bedford and levying contribution upon the county, forthwith fell to plundering the houses * * set fire to the town in many places at once, and burnt down 17 or 18 dwelling houses" besides malting houses, &c., "together with goods and household stuff to the value of £3,869, many of the inhabitants being left harbourless, ruinated, and undone." [Petition of Inhabitants of Woburn, Beds, in *Lords' Journals*, 26th Dec., 1645.]

Though the undue pressure upon Hertfordshire was occasionally resented, and differences of opinion sometimes arose over the frequent employment of the County Forces outside the county, yet in the matter of raising and forwarding its levies for what may be called the regular Army the county was fairly prompt and consistent in its support of the Parliamentary cause. There are, for instance, still extant the returns of one particular levy which afford an interesting comparison upon this point between Hertfordshire and other counties.

The following items are taken from the return in the form in which they stand in the Journals of Parliament:—

From London, sent up 57, wanting 1412.
From Middlesex, sent up 55, wanting 45.
From Essex, sent up 509, wanting 241.
From Suffolk, sent up 152, wanting 698.
From Norfolk, sent up 457, wanting 293.
From Hertfordshire, sent up 201, wanting 49.
From Cambridgeshire, sent up 70, wanting 130.
From Huntingdonshire, sent up 56, wanting 44.
From Bedfordshire, sent up 000, wanting 300.

So far as this particular levy was concerned the county of Hertford thus stood first in the proportion of its levy which it had sent up at the time the return was made.

By December, 1645, all danger for the Eastern Counties Association was practically over, and on the 11th of that month Hertfordshire with other counties is joining in "public thanksgiving unto God for His singular mercies in preserving the said counties so graciously from the fury and violence of the enemy." [*Lords' Journals.*]

But though the power and dread of the sword had in a great measure passed away from the Hertfordshire people, they were destined to witness many more remarkable events in the fortunes of the King, the movements of the Parliamentary Army, and in the second Civil War.

THE KING'S FLIGHT THROUGH HERTS IN DISGUISE.

THE ARMY DEMANDS ITS WAGES.

STORMY SCENES IN SAFFRON WALDEN CHURCH!

In the month of April, 1646, the King, with the besieging armies drawing around him, is at Oxford in a strait about his future movements.† If His Majesty seeks refuge in London he will

† It was judged by all considering men * * that his sacred person should not be liable to the success of an assault but that some expedient should be found for his escape from thence to save his life, though nothing could be thought of in order to his flight, that in point of danger kept not equal pace with the hazard of his stay." [*Ashburnham's Narrative*, p 64.]

have to reckon with the Independents; if he goes to the Scotch Army now at Newark, he may have to accept Presbyterianism. On the 15th of April this theological Scylla and Charybdis is being discussed on the King's behalf at Royston, where Loudon has come down to meet Dunfermline and Balcarres, the Scotch Commissioners with the Army. His Majesty makes a bold bid for returning to Westminster, but fails; and then, as the Armies of Whalley and Fleetwood draw near Oxford and Fairfax's Army from the West is expected to join them, Charles makes fair promises to the Scotch, destined not to be fulfilled in the sense understood by the Scotch themselves, and sets out on the most humiliating journey of all his late wanderings. Cutting off his hair and beard, and disguising himself as a servant, he quits Oxford at three o'clock in the morning on the 27th of April, and commences a march which is to bring his Majesty once more into the county of Hertford.

Not so absorbing as that defiant march of the King through Hertfordshire in the spring of 1642, accompanied by noble lords and followed by the loudly expressed demands of Parliament; nor so picturesque as that imposing and almost Royal progress with the Army through Hertfordshire, which we shall see taking place in a little more than twelve months hence, but still having an interest of its own not less than either of these, was this memorable march of the King in the disguise of an attendant—a King, and yet practically homeless and a wanderer on the face of that part of the earth over which he had been called upon to rule! There is a pathos in this event which has hardly gained sufficient recognition in the histories of an eventful time. Though a King, his Majesty was obliged to appear to be escorting his two chaplains as their servant, and has to take charge even of their cloak bag to complete the disguise.

In this fickle April month of 1646 there seemed to be something of the fatal spell which had brought misfortune to the Stuart dynasty before him, and one sees in imagination that small party travelling with a borrowed passport, hardly knowing whether it dare show itself or not, and weary of the journey and the uncertainty of whether it will meet with friend or foe! Parliament had decreed that "in case the King shall, contrary to the advice of the Houses of Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication; that then the Committee of the Militia of London shall have power, and are hereby enjoined * * to raise such forces as they shall think necessary, to prevent any tumults that may arise by his coming; * * to apprehend and secure such as shall come with him, and to secure his person."

But the risk had to be faced and Oxford is left behind. The King and his two Chaplains halted at Hillingdon and there three hours were spent in discussing whether to go to London or northward to the Scotch Army, hoping against hope that some good fortune might bring him overtures from the city of London and an invitation thither. But the City, if it knows what is happening, makes no sign. Disappointed at finding no one to welcome him the King turns his face northward and renews the march through Hertfordshire, *en route* for the Scottish Army at Newark. The party had already travelled forty miles, and on reaching Harrow-on-the-hill, the King and his companions stayed for some little time for rest and refreshment. Crossing apparently by Harrow-Weald, Stanmore, and Edgware, into the high road for St. Albans, they pass through Elstree, and would have continued their journey more openly but for a curious little incident. When they had nearly reached St. Albans the party were alarmed by the sound of horses' hoofs on the High Road! At once the King and his two companions imagined their flight had been discovered and that they were being pursued, until, greatly to their relief, they found that it was only "a drunken man, well-horsed, riding violently."

Slowly along the soldiers' way on which Kings, monks, martyrs and armed men have trod, the trio of horsemen ride; and, glancing up at the massive silhouette of the old Abbey, standing out against the after-glow of the spring sunset, they are debating the question of halting for the night. The incident of the drunken horseman was sufficient to make them cautious, and so, avoiding the risk of seeking a bed at the inns of St. Albans in the very centre of the military side of the Parliamentary cause in Hertfordshire, they "turned past St. Albans out of the common road," and the weary march was continued as far as the more secluded spot of Wheathampstead, where the close-cropped King and his companions pass the first night. Under whose roof the King took shelter under such melancholy circumstances is a question which involves a curious and interesting piece of local history or tradition.

As far as I know there is no other residence in the neighbourhood of Wheathampstead which

claims the distinction of having sheltered the King and his companions in adversity, but Lamer, the seat of the Garrard family, and here local tradition says the King passed that night on the 27th of April, 1646. My own inquiries, kindly assisted by General Apsley Cherry-Garrard, the present representative of the Garrard family at Lamer, have failed to find any direct evidence bearing upon the point.† There are still at Lamer portraits of Charles I. and his Queen, and according to the family tradition these were presented by the King as a memento of hospitality received in a time of need. Sir John Garrard's active part in the War as a Commander of Hertfordshire forces for Parliament may occur to the reader as an obstacle to the reception of the King; but this circumstance of itself is one of but little weight, for there were many Parliamentarians, as we shall see when the King again passes through Hertfordshire, who while stoutly opposing the cause of the King, were always ready to acknowledge what was due to his royal person and dignity. There were circumstances, however, indicated by that resolution of Parliament quoted above which make it difficult to arrive at any very positive conclusion. If the portraits of the King and Queen now at Lamer were given as tokens of an act of hospitality to the King according to local tradition, it involves the interesting fact that the King, either at the time or very soon afterwards, disclosed his identity to his host, who must have entertained him at his peril, for a few days afterwards when Parliament and all England became aware of the King's flight, a proclamation went forth by beat of drum and sound of trumpet that "what person soever shall harbour and conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the King's person, and shall not reveal it immediately to both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a traitor to the Commonwealth, forfeit his whole estate and die without mercy." [*Commons' Journals*, May 4th, 1646.]

If, then, the King did actually pass that night under the roof of Lamer, it must either have been a general act of hospitality to the King and his Chaplains in some assumed character for the occasion, or if his Majesty's identity was disclosed the secret was so well kept that the house of the Garrards escaped the severe penalties threatened by Parliament.†

When the secret march was resumed on the morning of the 28th, the route was through the north of Hertfordshire, via Stevenage and Baldock, to Royston—where even the Royal house was, apparently, avoided—and thence through Cambridgeshire to Downham. Here a stay of four days was made, and as general history tells us it was here that the King's badly cropped hair came in for rude comment from the local barber at Downham, who not unnaturally found grave fault with the clumsy manner in which his customer had been trimmed by the previous barber! Of the King's two attendants on this fugitive journey to the Scots Army at Newark, one was John Ashburnham, from whose narrative I have already quoted. The other was Michael Hudson, the "plain-dealing chaplain," who went through many strange adventures afterwards—became a pri-

† Even the daily record—"*Iter Carolinum*, being a succinct Relation of the necessitated marches, Retreats and Sufferings of his Majesty, Charles the First, from 10th January, 1641, till the time of his death, 1648"—does not clear up the point.

† Since writing the account of the King's flight through Hertfordshire and halt at Wheathampstead in 1646, I have had the advantage, through the courtesy of General Apsley Cherry-Garrard, of a visit to Lamer Park, and of seeing some interesting souvenirs of the time of Charles I and Charles II, including the portraits of Charles I and his Queen, presented under circumstances already described. These portraits, which now hang in one of the principal rooms of the mansion at Lamer Park, are very well painted miniatures of less than twelve inches in length, and only about four inches in width, in very plain and slender gilt frames—inconspicuous objects in themselves until their interesting story is told. There is also among the family papers preserved at Lamer one—a small sheet written on both sides—which, written by an unknown hand some years after the event recorded, clearly accepts the view of the disguised King's sojourn at Lamer, and affords some interesting local details of his Majesty's journey through the county of Hertford. The writer says "at Whethamsted * * they lodged that night. * The house where they were entertained in all probability was Lammer * * from whence they set out at break of day next morning. Tuesday, 28th, at Gravely, Dr. Hudson left the other two in order to go to the French Ambassador at Southwell. The King charged him not to discover at what time he lay at Whethamsted (and particularly, as I suppose, not to mention the house or family). The King and Mr. Ashburnham took up their residence on Tuesday night (after having passed either through or near Baldock and Royston) at a small village within seven miles of Newmarket, and at a common inn (I should rather suppose an alehouse) there. Qr. whether at Botsham?" The remainder of the narrative briefly describes the further stages of the journey, and adds that at Lynn, "Ye King appeared in ye habit of a clergyman."

soner to the Parliament, escaped, headed some Cavaliers in an insurrection which was suppressed, and finally threw himself over the battlements of Woodford House in Lincolnshire, but hung on by his hands till some one cut them off at the wrists, and he fell into the moat beneath! [See note in Sir Walter Scott's *Woodstock.*]

As the summer advanced, with the surrender of Oxford in June, things began to look a little more hopeful. Parliament proclaimed its intention of once more looking after the regular execution of justice and the ordinary functions of civil life which had been so much interrupted of late. By July the maintenance of the garrisons of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Newport Pagnell was found to be no longer necessary, and this marked the beginning of those efforts at the disbanding of the Army which was to lead to some remarkable developments in Hertfordshire a few months later.

In September, 1646, the Earl of Essex, whose command of the Parliamentary Forces had so frequently brought him under the observation of Hertfordshire folk, especially about St. Albans, passed into the eternal peace—beyond all reproaches, and with the common soldier's benison resting over his grave—leaving to other and less patriotic spirits the task of bringing England into that freedom for which he had cast the commanding weight of his influence when the war began. "No proclamation of treason could cry him down, nor threatening standard daunt him in that misty morning when men knew not each other, whether friend or foe, by his arising dispelled the fog and by his very name commanded thousands into your service." [Richard Vines' funeral sermon on the Earl of Essex before both Houses of Parliament.]

At the beginning of 1647, with the shadows lengthening across his life's pathway, the King is in the hands of Parliamentary Commissioners removing him from Newcastle to Holmby in Northamptonshire, the garrisons have been for the most part dismantled, and Fairfax's great unpaid Army is slowly but surely making its way round to within effective speaking distance of the City of London and its Parliament, and in a mood withal for making itself heard.

The first symptom of the conflict between the Army and Parliament and the City of London, which was so closely connected with Hertfordshire, arose on the 15th of March in the form of a petition to the House of Lords from the Essex people around London, praying to be protected against being "eaten up, enslaved, and destroyed by an Army raised for their defence," which extracted from Cromwell the remark, "Never were the spirits of men more embittered than now. Surely the Devil hath but a short time." The fact was that the great Army of Ironsides, or at least its headquarters, had got as far as Saffron Walden, and, with that old score of arrears of pay, was in no very amiable mood. A very little indeed will bring the whole Army about the ears of Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen, and even Parliament! "Horse and Dragooners, forty-three weeks in arrears with their pay," "Foot and Train, eighteen weeks in arrear with their pay," in all £331,000 is due to the Army! The House proposes to pay them in a sort of County Court fashion, at the rate of £60,000 a month, and upon the strength of these promises a deputation goes from Parliament to the Army at Saffron Walden to endeavour to engage officers and men as volunteers for Ireland. While crowds are said to be flocking to Holmby House to get near enough the King for his Majesty to touch them for the King's evil, a sterner council is sitting nearer London. There, beneath the vaulted roof and in the spacious nave of one of the finest parish churches in England, at Saffron Walden, on the 21st of March, sits an ominous conference. Fairfax is in the chair, and forty-three officers are gathered around him. Before giving an answer to the message brought from the Parliament they demand answers to certain questions, the burden of which was the troublesome question of "arrears and indemnity for past service in England." The officers met again next day, but the prospects of volunteering for Ireland were not much advanced, and petitions from officers and soldiers were brewing instead.†

Here is a little glimpse of one of those old scenes :—

"Our General commanded that all our officers should meete in the greate Church at Saffron Walden to hear what the Commissioners had to say unto us. The General with the Commissioners came into the Church which was almost full. The General [Fairfax] made a shorte speech, told

† Some most interesting details of the proceedings in Saffron Walden Church have come to light in the recent discovery of the Clarke Papers in Worcester College, Oxford—notes taken down by an assistant to the Secretary to the Army at the time — one volume of which has been recently edited by Mr. C. H. Firth (the great authority on the Civil War period) for the Camden Society.

us how Parliament and the Kingdom were obliged to us for our faythful services and desired they that would goe for Ireland to give in their names. * * Then Crumwell stoode up and made a long grave speech, in the behalf of the Parliament first to give the Army thanks for their never-to-be-forgotten services, * * that he would gladly trayle a picke in that war of Ireland and therefore desired us to consider what a holy war that was and that it were a noble thing for us all that were young men to engage for that Kingdom."

But while Cromwell was delivering his long grave speech he was "interupted by one of the troopers," Capt. Reynolds, chairman of the adjutators, who spoke up boldly to Cromwell to his face on the subject of the soldiers' grievances, and actually presented a remonstrance on their behalf which startled the Commissioners and the General [Fairfax] himself. Then followed one of those dramatic scenes in which the future Protector of the Commonwealth was to excel. "Crumwell took on like a mad man, and declared openly in the Church that all those that had a hand in that remonstrance were enemies of the Parliament." The trooper Captain, however, stood up boldly for the soldiers till "Crumwell in his pretended fury, protested the ruen of all those that had a hand in that remonstrance." [Colonel Wogan's Narrative in the *Clarke Papers.*]

Parliament begs that the discontented ones may be kept quiet, but for some time to come the triple question—will the Army disband, go to Ireland, or get their arrears of pay?—is likely to cause a great deal of keeping quiet, and to cause much commotion along the borders of Herts and Essex, for both Saffron Walden and Bishop Stortford are full of unpaid soldiers! Having failed in the first efforts Parliament despatched other Commissioners to Walden, old generals—Warwick, Waller, and Massey—who were prepared to carry matters with a high hand, and even suggested a penalty for refusal to serve! Again the aisles of the Parish Church are rattling with the clanking of swords, as, on the 15th April another conference, this time of over two hundred officers, receives the Commissioners.† The same questions are put to the Commissioners as before. One of these questions was as to who were to be the commanders they were to serve under, and upon a suggestion of some one that it should be their old commanders—there "rang round the Church" cries of "Fairfax and Cromwell and we all go!"

The Commissioners tried to bribe the individual officers to volunteer, and one did so—Lieutenant Kempson, who made a start for the rendezvous at Hitchin, *en route* for Chester—but his men, like the "black legs" in a modern strike, had such a bad time of it from the men of the other regiments, that a good number of them altered their minds, and others who went part of the way on the journey towards Hitchin found their way back to Walden. Some of the clergy in the neighbouring villages tried to induce their parishioners to petition Parliament in favour of disbanding. Lilburn (Freeborn John), away in the Tower, hears of it, and contrives to send out a pamphlet to convince the people that they might be worse off without the Army than with it, and demanding "whose poultry hath this Army destroyed, whose goods have they spoiled, or whose sheep or calves have they stolen?"

The soldiers in their turn did not hesitate to enlist the sympathy of the people among whom they were, but not always with encouragement for their pains. Thus James Willett, rector of Little Chishill, near Royston, sent in an information to the Earl of Warwick that Captain Style, a captain in Col. Lambert's regiment quartered in the neighbouring parish of Great Chishill, had sent to him by Roger Craust, his sergeant, a copy of a pamphlet entitled "A new found strategem framed in the old forge of mechiavelism and put upon the inhabitants of the county of Essex." Richard Coleman, of Duxford, near Royston, testified to hearing conversations among the soldiers at the April rendezvous, at the neighbouring village of Hinxton, about the underhand doings of Col. Lilburn in seeking to influence the soldiers against disbanding to go to Ireland.†

The story had got wind that the Army had sent a petition to the King asking him to come to them and "they would set the crown on his head," and a servant of the Duke of Buckingham rode post haste into the North scattering copies

† The scene must have been a brilliant one as the two hundred officers, mostly in scarlet uniforms, besides the Parliamentary Commissioners, filed into their places in the nave of the Church—close by the tomb of that Lord Chancellor Audley to whom Churches and Church property had been made the goose that lays the golden egg.

† So closely in touch were the discontented in the Army with Lilburne and others in London, that when the new Commissioners, including Sir Wm. Waller, were sent down to Saffron Walden, a supply of a petition "A warning to all the counties of England" had come down in a coach that arrived before them, so that when they got to Walden they found copies of it even at the Inn where they lodged.

of the alleged paper as he went, and desiring the post-masters at Royston and Huntingdon to publish it for the truth. [*Perfect Diurnal*, May 8th, 1647.]

New Commissioners are sent down to another meeting of officers in Saffron Walden Church on May 7th, the great Parliamentary Army is recognised to be fairly on strike and the Parliamentary Commissioners have to condescend to take the views of the private soldiers, to be collected from the various regiments scattered over the counties of the Eastern Association. The "Convention" at which the result was to be reported, was also held in Saffron Walden Church on market day, Saturday, May 15th, when upwards of 200 officers were present, and, judging from Skippon's opening address — "Gentlemen, fellow soldiers and Christian friends" — and from other sources, some of the public may have been admitted also. Skippon ventured to hope that the officers had "soe Christian-like, soe judiciously, soe impartially, soe faithfully," discharged their duties "as wee shall receive a very good account from you in relation to these things."

After a stormy debate, in which Cromwell took part, the meeting was adjourned to next day. On Sunday the Convention in the Church re-assembled and the debate was renewed; there was at times a good deal of applause for some of the speakers, and of dissent from others, which Skippon checked, and tempered the noisy debate with such phrases as— "I am sorrey to observe that there should be such disagreement betweene you" — "I pray either speake with moderation or else be silent." They sat till a late hour, when Skippon winds up the stormy scene with a brief conciliatory speech and "soe good night." The sturdy soldiers file out of the Church, and repair to their quarters, and on the next Thursday, May 20th, the Declaration of the Army, signed by 223 officers present in Saffron Walden Church, goes off to Parliament mainly to enforce the bare justice of payment of arrears.

Until the 25th of May the dead-lock continued, on which date some smooth phrases and a fortnight's pay in advance besides their arrears, for those who will serve in Ireland, and an order for disbanding the remainder, do seem likely to make a perceptible move of a local character. Colonel Hughson's Regiment is at Bishop Stortford, and the order comes for its being disbanded on the next market day, Thursday, 3rd of June, and further that those who are prepared to engage for Ireland are to march to Puckeridge to receive orders. Colonel Lambert's Regiment at Saffron Walden is also to disband on the market day of that town, viz., Saturday, 5th June, and those who engaged for Ireland were to march across the hills to Heydon, near Royston. A few days after this Colonel Harley's Regiment was to disband at Cambridge, and others at their respective centres.

Will the Regiments disband next Stortford and Walden market days, or indeed will any of them volunteer for Ireland? "No," says one of the old pamphleteers, "they may as well send them [their disbanding Committee] among so many bears to take away their whelps!" But besides and before this question there is another more pertinent question angrily asserting itself of which some account must be taken.

TWENTY THOUSAND SOLDIERS ON STRIKE!

CROMWELL'S ULTIMATUM FROM ROYSTON.

THE MARCH ON LONDON!

Parliament, seeing no further immediate use for such an Army, began to find twenty thousand men clamouring for pay difficult to deal with; and so the best thing it could do was the offer of eight weeks of arrears of pay in cash and some of the rest in a sort of debenture bonds.

But of this carrying forward of old scores on paper the soldiers had had enough already, and so when the next market day comes round at Stortford and Saffron Walden, the Army is not in a temper to be disbanded, and not a man has marched to Puckeridge or to Heydon for service in Ireland, but the state of things at the rendezvous is growing to be the most extraordinary of anything known in the whole course of the War. Here is an Army, finding it cannot get its just rights of cash pay for old arrears and proper discharge from service and indemnity for acts done in the War all at once, is beginning to get a notion of what is necessary for the country as well as for itself, and there are now practically two Parliaments, one wrangling with apprentices' tumult and city guards about its doors at Westminster, and the other hanging about the borders of Essex and Hertfordshire with match-locks for arguments if no others prevail.

A Committee of the Lords and Commons is, however, ordered to go down to Saffron Walden at the end of the month of May to see the Army

disbanded, but they soon find that their "eight weeks' pay" and paper money for some of the remainder won't do, and instead of disbanding, a soldiers' Parliament is held at Bury St. Edmund's, and then a new rendezvous is fixed for Thriplow Heath, near Royston.

Meanwhile an event is happening which is adding excitement to the crisis, and throws everything into confusion. Cornet Joyce with his party of Horse has performed that clever manœuvre of "carrying off" the King's person from Holmby towards Newmarket, out of the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners in charge of him, and apparently to the satisfaction of his Majesty, who expressed a wish to be at his favourite resort at Newmarket once more. Captain Titus, a Hertfordshire man of note of whom we shall see other things presently, conveys the news to St. Stephen's and gets £50 voted to him to buy a horse with, for his great service. While the House is being moved with this alarming news and agrees to sit on the Lord's Day, all Officers in the House are ordered down to their regiments. Fairfax, Cromwell, and other officers went to Childerley to the house of Sir John and Lady Cutts, where the King had come with Cornet Joyce; whence, after some wrangling, the King, being "politique and subtle to lay hold upon anything for his own advantage," was, at his own request, allowed to go on to Newmarket. As the King, accompanied by two regiments of Horse, drew near Cambridge, the townsfolk decked their windows and stalls along the streets with green boughs and "whole rose-bushes" and the ground all along with rushes and herbs in expectation of the King passing that way, but it was not thought expedient to allow his Majesty to pass through Cambridge, lest the students might cause some inconvenience. But the village of Trumpington, on this side of Cambridge, through which he passed, made up for the disappointment with "much preparation for his Majesty by strewing the streetes, cutting downe boughes and preparing of benefiers" [bonfires].

London and the country round is all agog, with alarming portents of what will happen! The House sends down to Thriplow Heath its votes to the effect that if the Army will only disband, a complete indemnity shall be given for all acts done in the War, and £10,000 more is to be added to the sum already voted for the arrears of pay. No one in London knows what will happen—what is happening—at this rendezvous near Royston, where there were nearly twenty thousand men assembled; † "the remarkablest Army" says Carlyle, "that ever wore steel in this world, and an Oliver Cromwell at the head of it, demanding with one voice, as deep as ever spake in England, justice! justice! under the vault of Heaven."

Upon the afternoon of Thursday, June 10th, 1647, the Army is drawn up at the rendezvous "upon a plain meadow within four miles of Royston" at Thriplow Heath, a spot nearer London, towards which, says Sir Wm. Waller, "they now began to cast a squinting eye"—a spot commanding the junction of the two great roads to London, one through Barkway and Puckeridge, the other through Royston to St. Albans. The Commissioners and the General rode round the Army "which was indeed a very gallant body," and the votes of the Parliament having been received with shouts of "justice, justice," no more can be done! So the famous Army of stern, victorious, and angry Ironsides—

> A manly surliness with temper mix'd,
> Is in their meanest countenances fix'd—

commences that significant march towards London, for which city and its inhabitants no event in the whole course of the War has been so full of alarm, as this approach of a great Army, coming near them, if for nothing worse, "to lick up all provisions roundabout them as an ox licketh up the grass of the field."

The whole question of the settlement of the country is resting at this point of time upon the unsteady triumvirate of King, Army, and Parliament, upon so delicate a balance that it is hard to tell which way the current will set, and whether that famous march means peace or further bloodshed more horrible than anything that has gone before. As the great Army nears the borders of Hertfordshire the excitement grows apace. The old town of Royston that summer afternoon is all out of doors and windows to witness the "remarkablest Army" that has ever passed through its streets since the interesting parallel when the Duke of York, with a much smaller Army, passed through the town, also on his way to St. Albans, to commence the Wars of the Roses. All questions of divided sentiment of Cavalier and Roundhead—of which latter Royston had a good share if need be—was for the time played out or merged in the more momentous issue of the attack on

† The exact number of the Army at this time was 21,480 men [*Clarke Papers*], but they were not quite all present at the Thriplow Heath rendezvous. About 18,000 was probably nearer the actual number present.

London and the restoration of the King, which were generally expected. At Royston the Army halts, and encamps for the night on its fine old Heath, apparently, for Sir William Waller [see his *Vindication*] says that from Thriplow the Army marched to its quarters "in and about Royston."

London is in a terrible ferment, and the House is sitting, morning and afternoon—from eight o'clock in the morning—and we get glimpses of the "tumultuous manner of divers people in coming up to this House." Through the tumult there emerge the Sheriffs of the City of London, presenting a petition on behalf of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, praying that all honourable means may be used to avoid the shedding of more blood, to give just satisfaction to the Army; that the Covenant may be kept and his Majesty's person and both Parliaments have access to him. The matter has hardly been referred to Mr. Grimston and other members, ere "a very rude address is made to the House by reformadoes (disbanded soldiers) and common soldiers within the line, who blocked up the House door about two hours and would let no member pass till the House granted them all their arrears! The House were in a sort forced to order their accounts to be stated and ten thousand pounds more than formerly added for their payment." Unfortunate Parliament! but there is a stiffer rod in pickle for you! On that same evening of Thursday, the 10th of June, while the great Army is encamped on Royston Heath, Cromwell, Fairfax, and the other chief officers of the Army are sitting in solemn conclave at the head-quarters at Royston—probably in the King's House, or in the Parish Church—drawing up that memorable letter "to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London," concluding a statement of the conditions which must be complied with before the Army can be disbanded, with these emphatic words from Cromwell's own pen:—

"These in brief are our desires, and the things for which we stand; beyond which we shall not go. And for the obtaining of these things we are drawing near your City; professing sincerely from our hearts that we intend not evil towards you; declaring with all confidence and assurance that if you appear not against us in these our just desires * * neither we nor our soldiers shall give you the least offence. We come not to do any act to prejudice the being of Parliaments, or to the hurt of this Parliament in order to the present settlement of the Kingdom; we seek the good of all. And we shall wait here, or remove to a further distance to abide there, if once we be assured that a speedy settlement of things is at hand—until it be accomplished. Which done we shall be most ready, either all of us, or so many of the Army as the Parliament shall think fit—to disband or to go for Ireland.

"And although you may suppose that a rich City may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof—yet, if not provoked by you, we do profess, rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers shall make their way through our blood to effect it * * * If, after all this, you, or a considerable part of you, be seduced to take up arms in opposition to, or hindrance of, these our just undertakings—we hope by this brotherly premonition, to the sincerity whereof we call God to witness, we have freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befall that great and populous City; having thereby washed our hands thereof, we rest

"Your affectionate friends to serve you—

Thomas Fairfax.	Henry Ireton.
Oliver Cromwell.	Robert Lilburn.
Robert Hammond.	John Desborow.
Thomas Hammond.	Thomas Rainsborow.
Hardress Waller.	John Lambert.
Nathaniel Rich.	Thomas Harrison.
Thomas Pride.	

"Royston, 10th June, 1647."

Petitions come in to the Army from "well affected people" in the neighbouring counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, against disbanding the Army, "in regard that the Commonwealth has many enemies who watch for such an occasion to destroy the good people." The Army is, however, well able to take care of itself and in no mood for being disbanded.

It was no time for trifling, and upon the receipt of the letter from Royston, and its being read next day in the House, London was thrown into the wildest commotion. Upon the rumour that the Army was coming towards London, the shops were shut up, the Train-Bands were raised on pain of death; in fact, the City in its panic rushed to the hopeless extreme of seeking to raise an Army to oppose that which was marching towards them. Next morning, 11th June, the Army resumed its march from Royston, through Baldock and Stevenage, for St. Albans. When it was remembered that the Army could not march from Royston and reach London the same day, as had been feared, the shops were again opened, and

the defending force limited to those on the lines of fortification.

Before leaving Royston on the morning of the 11th, Fairfax wrote to Parliament asking for a month's pay for the soldiers, and asking how he could be expected "to have that influence with his soldiers which is meet, considering the straits they are put into for want of pay." He adds the significant hint that "the private soldier is not ignorant that you have money by you, and certainly the knowledge of that and the sense of their own wants doth not a little heighten in them their discontents." He asks that the money may be sent with all possible speed to St. Albans, where his head-quarters would be that night. [Letter in Cary *Memorials.*]

The scene itself on the arrival at St. Albans of the Army, now for the most part got into red coats, was a striking contrast with that non-descript Army, in many coloured coats, which five years before had marched through St. Albans, under the command of the Earl of Essex, to the first encounter with the King's forces at Edge-hill. Since then, through the stern vicissitudes of the conflict, a military evolution has brought out something like a great standing and thoroughly disciplined Army, inured to the hardships and embued with the instincts of the professional soldier; and just now that Army and the power it is to wield from its head-quarters at St. Albans, appears to be about the total product of the War. It is in a sense a great moving Parliament as well as an Army; armed with arguments which fill with terror the members of that other Parliament sitting at Westminster with very little but "that bauble" on the table before them, and the vacillating spirit of the people and troops of the Metropolis to show against the powerful force which has now got as far as the centre of Hertfordshire. Independency, or "new presbyter, old priest writ large"—that is the problem which is dividing men now, with the King watching for which side shall favour him most.

With the great Army "lying about around St. Albans" [Skippon's letter to Col. Ashfield] both Houses join with the Aldermen and Militia of the City over that letter from Royston, and give directions for the safety of Parliament and the City and power to raise Horse and Foot. Early on Monday morning, June 14th, Delegates from the Council of the City of London, four Aldermen and eight Common Council-men, set out in three coaches, and their attendants on horseback, towards St. Albans with the answer to his Excellency and the officers' letter, and for some days to come old Verulam will again be the scene of events worthy of its historic past.

The General gives directions that the Commissioners from the City of London are to be honourably entertained, and sends out his own trumpeter and divers officers to meet them at the Barnet end of the town, upon the Holywell Hill. The Commissioners were hardly prepared for such a reception, having come away from a city full of dread of invasion by the Army; still, like all Corporations with an official programme cut and dry, their part of eating humble-pie has to be played, and so they, in obsequious phrase, assure his Excellency of the high esteem they have of that Army whom they know and acknowledge to be faithful and well deserved, and have a general desire to prevent misunderstanding between them. They are especially grateful for that dramatic assurance thrown into Cromwell's letter from Royston that, if not provoked, the soldiers should walk through the officers' blood rather than any harm should come to the city. The Commissioners further profess that they have already made a humble address to Parliament in favour of the just desires of the Army being granted. Finally, after dining with the General and Officers, they very gently deliver the "desires of the City of London" that the Army will be pleased to forbear quartering within 30 miles of the City, and that they would "require no more from the Parliament or the City than shall be just and reasonable." So the dignified City Aldermen, having dined and received "infinite satisfaction of the reality of the Army towards the City as intending no hurt," get into their Guildhall coaches; and having gently stroked the hungry lion and begged him not to come any nearer, depart for the realms of Gog and Magog, there to give an account of their mission to St. Albans.

Upon the same day, and almost before the City Aldermen have left the town behind them, there is another significant procession riding into St. Albans. It is not by any means a military procession but purely a county party of knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, and their errand is the now familiar one of petitioning. A hundred knights and gentlemen from Buckinghamshire have already handed in a petition to the Lord General Fairfax with a thousand signatures, and then comes the great cavalcade of about 200 knights, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Hertford with a petition having a subscription of about twelve hundred of the inhabitants. What was the burden of this petition which weighed so heavily upon the inhabitants of the

county as to bring this imposing array of horsemen to St. Albans is almost concealed in the verbiage which characterises most documents of the period, but is made somewhat clearer by a statement of grievances at the end. The whole is given in Rushworth's Historical Collections (vol. 6) and also in the Lords' Journals (vol. 9), prefaced with the formal opening—"The humble petition of divers knights, gentlemen, freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Hertford." The services of "Well-be-trusted worthies of Parliament" are duly acknowledged and the endangering of their liberties and immunities by a "powerful and malignant party" form the preamble, and the petitioners most humbly "entreat and beseech your excellency to use your utmost endeavours with expedition before disbanding the Army * * that those fire brands and incendiaries who have endeavoured to raise new divisions in the Kingdom or by their slanderous tongues to fix undeserved reproaches on the Army, may be brought to condign punishment, and that we your petitioners with the rest of your faithful brethren in the Kingdom, may have certain relief in our grievances hereto annexed, and as in duty bound shall not fail to hold our best assistance with our persons, purses, and prayers, &c.

Then follows a long list of grievances, but we are only concerned with the "sixthly" and "seventhly" in the list, which obviously refer to some defections in the county of Hertford :

"*Sixthly*—That all men who have received any State moneys, as well Parliament men as others, may be called to an account for such moneys, and that Committees, not as now for the most Neuters and Malignants, but of proved fidelity may be elected for that purpose."

"*Seventhly.*—That one Cardwell, a man of a most notorious, lewd life and conversation and withal a most desperate malignant, did procure a warrant for the apprehending of three soldiers under command of Colonel Alban Cox, brought them before one King, of St. Albans, a justice of the peace, where their said Colonel did appear with them and made it clear and apparent to the said justice that what they did was by command of their Captain, which the said justice did acknowledge, yet the said King would have committed them to Hertford Gaol had not their Colonel become bound for their appearing the next Sessions, and the said Cardwell did prefer the bill of indictment against them, and had it not been for two or three honest men that served on the grand jury, the said bill had been found to the great peril of their lives, there being but little favour of mercy to be had for poor soldiers by justices of the county."

These petitions were forwarded by Fairfax and read in the House next day. Fairfax writes a letter to Parliament to relieve their minds about the safety of London if they will only send down that month's pay for the Army at St. Albans, so that they might not be burthensome to the county or take free quarter. The spirits of Parliament and of Londoners are raised considerably, the order about the Militia and raising Horse and Foot to oppose the Army from Royston is annulled, and the House faces the old subject of paying the soldiers once more. It is proposed to send the money in two instalments—a fortnight's pay to St. Albans and the other instalment on condition that the Army moves 15 miles further from the City; which is lost by 133 against 107, and the month's pay is sent to St. Albans, but immediately after it a resolution requiring the Army to forthwith remove 40 miles from London.

The timid Parliamentary Commissioners who ought to have been with the Army at St. Albans had been as much troubled as were Gog and Magog at the march of the Army towards London, and so to clear their consciences while lagging behind at Royston wrote "haste, haste, post haste with speed" to assure the Parliament that they at least had dissented to the course of the Army in approaching so near the City, and were following the Army under protest.

STRANGE CONTRASTS.—THE KING AT ROYSTON, BALDOCK, ST. ALBANS, AND HATFIELD.

While the events just recorded were happening with the Army at St. Albans, a strange conjunction of circumstances and a picturesque historic scene were unfolding themselves around the person of the King in the quiet old towns of Newmarket, Royston, and Baldock. The King had been spending his time at Newmarket, and was credited with being "very pleasant and cheerful, and takes his recreation daily at tennis and delights much in the company and discourse of Cornet Joyce," or as Rushworth writes, "the King is now at Newmarket well guarded and more than regarded. * * The King's party carry themselves very high and insolent, as conceiving the Army acts their game ; whereas they have little cause to think so" [letters in *Fairfax Corres.*]. Hugh Peters, the famous Army chap-

lain, is also on the spot and "moved his Majesty to hear him preach," but his Majesty declined.

Col. Francis Russell, member for Cambridgeshire, governor of the Isle of Ely, a County Committee-man for Parliament, and notable soldier, and others attending on the King soon became converted "by the splendour of his Majesty," and the other officers of the Army made it their business "to get the good opinion of the King" --[Ludlow's *Memoirs*]—and yet the King himself did not like the restraint, declared that he came with the Army "rather than be taken by the neck and heels," and that he found himself "an absolute prisoner."

On the 23rd of June Fairfax sends from St. Albans an answer to the votes of Parliament 'concerning the resigning up of his Majesty's Royall person," embodying "the great and grand declaration of the Army;" giving reasons for marching nearer to London, in the action of a malignant party within the City, fomenting discord and casting "false suggestions and aspersions upon this Army, which, by the power of Heaven, hath beene the chiefe and instrumentall meanes of delivering the people of England from perpetuall slavery." At the same time Fairfax is writing to Whalley that he understands the King intends to begin his march to Richmond on Thursday, June 24th, and that he is to lie at Royston that night, at which place Whalley is to attend his Majesty and there receive further instructions. Something like a triumphal progress commences as the King, in charge of Whalley's regiments of Horse, sets out from Newmarket *en route* for Richmond. While his Majesty and his brilliant escort are marching past the late famous rendezvous at Thriplow Heath, for Royston, the Houses of Parliament, both Lords and Commons, are seriously considering what this march of the King towards London, with the Army so near them, may mean; and so they agree that a letter be sent off to meet his Majesty at Royston in the following terms:—"Resolved that a letter be sent to his Majesty to desire him for some time, to make a stay at Royston,† or go to Newmarket as he shall think fit, in regard of some things that are lately fallen out."

The Commissioners with the King were also written to, warning them to "observe their instructions concerning such persons as are not to be admitted to have access to the King." In fact the King's favourite chaplains were on their way to meet him at Royston at the time.

What were the things which had fallen out is not stated, but there had been such a keen competition between the Presbyterian and Independent parties of late on the subject of the King, his movements and his favourites, that jealousy was not surprising. Indeed, if we may trust the narrative of Major Robert Huntington [in *Thurloe's Correspondence*] Cromwell's party had been carrying matters with such a high hand about Royston in regard to the King that when the Parliament sent to the King at Newmarket its message "humbly desiring that in order to his safety and their addresses for a speedy settlement he would be pleased to come to Richmond" the officers of the Army came to a resolution "that if the King would not be diverted by persuasion (to which his Majesty was very opposite) that they would stop him by force at Royston, where his Majesty was to lodge the first night, keeping accordingly continual guard upon him, against any power that should be sent by order of Parliament to take him from us, and to this purpose out-guards were also kept to prevent his escape from us with the Commissioners." He adds that the Army officers had to be specially careful of the Commissioners who disagreed with the proceedings of the Army, and because to these Commissioners of Parliament the King had said that "if any man should hinder his going it should be done by force, and laying hold on his bridle, which if any were so bold to do he would endeavour to make it his last." †

† Professor Gardiner in his *History of the Great Civil War* states that it was when the King was with the Army at St. Albans that the letter was sent. But the wording and date of the letter itself, the facts that until he received the letter the King was travelling not towards St. Albans, but by way of Ware and Theobalds, and that the letter appears to have been delivered at Royston, all show that the King could not then have reached St. Albans. It may be that so painstaking and accurate an historian only meant to convey that the King was with the Army (or a part of it), the headquarters of which were then at St. Albans.

† Sir William Waller in his *Vindication* says that when Cromwell and Fairfax interviewed the King and were taxed by his Majesty with having given instructions to Cornet Joyce to remove him to Royston, they affected to deny it, to which the King replied "I will not believe you unless you hang up Joyce immediately." But Joyce was destined to see the King through Hertfordshire and to become a colonel instead of "swinging" for his adventure. Fairfax played a secondary part in these proceedings, as he himself acknowledges:—"From the time they (the Army) declared their usurped authority at Thriplow Heath, I never gave my free consent to anything they did, but being yet undischarged of my place they set my name in way of course to all their papers whether I consented or not, and to such failings are all authorities subject." [Fairfax's *Short Memorials*.]

The interruption in his Majesty's arrangements desired by Parliament was a very inconvenient one. The King had planned his journey to Richmond—on Thursday to Royston, on Friday to Theobalds, and on Saturday to Richmond—so minutely that when the letter came from Parliament and was delivered to the King at Royston his Majesty, "though much pressed to the contrary, was fully resolved upon his journey to Richmond." In fact everything was arranged for his journey through Buntingford and Ware to Theobalds, the provisions of his house had already been sent on before by the same road, and his Majesty's dinner was actually ordered at Ware [letter from the Commissioners with the King, in the Cary *Memorials*] but at whose house I know not. And so, as an alternative, the King, being resolved not to go back to Newmarket, resolved to go on from Royston to Hatfield.

For two nights and one day King Charles remained at Royston in the old house of his father, and in this part of the local movements of his Majesty we have a strange conjunction of circumstances, not without its dramatic interest. In the month of June, 1647, within a few days of each other, there slept at Royston—probably each in the old King's Palace, a part of which is still standing in Kneesworth Street—two men, each deeply and tragically concerned in the unfolding of a great drama which can only leave room for one of them on the stage, and which is to colour the history of England perhaps for all time. Oliver Cromwell, sleeping in the town of Royston, within three miles of Bassingbourne, the home of his mother [who was the widow of Richard Lynne, of Bassingbourne, when she married Cromwell's father], and Charles Stuart, King of England, a few days after, sleeping in the same house of his Royal Father James I, where he had spent some of his boyhood, and whence he and "Steenie" (Buckingham) had gone to and returned from that romantic Spanish wooing expedition under the assumed names of John and Thomas Smith! Considering all that had so lately happened, what each of these two men, the King and Cromwell, represented in the life of the nation, and the momentous coming events which were already casting their shadows before—considering all these things, this was perhaps one of the strangest coincidences in the history of the War; a coincidence which, not even the quasi-friendly interview of Cromwell and Fairfax with the King, a few days before at Childerley, could deprive of its embodiment of sharp contrasts.

On Saturday, June 26th, 1647, Charles I left the Palace of his father, and the frequent home of his youth, at Royston, never to look upon it again. In company with Whalley, the two select Regiments of Horse, and his favourite Chaplains, his Majesty starts on his third march through Hertfordshire, this time in a kind of Royal progress, though nominally a prisoner with the Army. The procession of the King, Chaplains, Commissioners, and Regiments of Horse leaves the old town, probably amidst the ringing of bells, for such demonstrations are possible just now even in Puritan places like Royston, and meets with receptions along the road very different from the King's last solitary journey over the same road.

As the procession nears the old town of Baldock we catch a glimpse of royalty and loyalty which is too good to be lost. At Baldock, which could have had none too many Royalists, judging by the events of a few years later when the second Charles came to the throne and dealt with the Quakers, there was at least one sincere friend of the Royal cause in its venerable rector, Josias Byrd. Deeply moved by the misfortunes of the King, the old parson, then in his 70th year or thereabouts, got together his parishioners, and in full canonicals marched at their head to the town's-end, where the two strange processions met! Armed with the communion cup, from the Parish Church, filled with wine, the old rector saluted the King with a fervent "May God bless your Majesty!" The King, touched at receiving such a demonstration of loyalty, inquired the name of his loyal subject, to which the old rector proudly replied "I am Josias Byrd, the parson of Baldock, and I offer you this cup for your refreshment." Whereupon the King drank, and replied with ready wit:—

"Mr. Byrd, I thank you, I did not think I had so good a bird in all my Kingdom." †

There was nothing extraordinary — nothing running counter to the increasing feeling of the time, or to the consistency of the old rector of a

† The chalice which Josias Byrd presented to the King is still in use in the Parish Church. Josias Byrd was buried in Baldock Churchyard, but the tombstone has now disappeared. The inscription upon the stone was, according to Chauncey, in the following lines:—

Josias Byrd lies buried here,
Who taught this parish three and fifty year;
Aged he was, as I have heard some say,
He was eighty-eight before he passed away,
And died in the year
When 1 and sixes three made up quere (1666).

parish which remained undisturbed in its Church services during the whole of the struggle—but the act reflected faithfully enough the gradual revulsion of feeling which, with many, was just then setting in favourably to the King, and was not likely to compromise the rector, as it certainly would have done three or four years before.

On its pathetic side it also reflected the feeling of pity for a King who was yet a prisoner, which was expressed in the irreverent parody of George Herbert's lines on the sufferings of the Saviour—

> To Newmarket now I am by my Army led;
> They'll sell me better than your brethren did,
> Else seek to make me shorter by the head;
> Never was grief like mine.

[King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus.]

No wonder if the Hertfordshire folk shouted huzzah, threw up their hats, and rang their bells in every parish through which the King passed! They were getting tired of the only rule they knew—the power to tax them—and could see no alternative but drifting into anarchy if the King did not take his place again at the head of the nation. That the King failed to appreciate the only conditions on which either Presbyterian or Independent would accept his rule was the cause of a great deal of misery yet to come.

When the King reached St. Albans there was no need to avoid passing through the town as his Majesty had been forced to do in that humiliating flight of the previous year! The entry this time was almost a triumphal one, amidst the ringing of bells; the people in the market—for it was market day—threw up their hats and shouted huzzah! And even the King's footmen were entertained at the expense of the Corporation.† But the stay was a short one, for his Majesty went on towards Hatfield the same evening. The King arrived at Hatfield House (the Earl of Salisbury's) on the Saturday evening, and both Army and Parliament will have their eyes upon the ecclesiastical side of his Majesty's conduct, with his favourite Chaplains, at Hatfield Church on the next day, Sunday.

"To-morrow we shall hear what entertainment his two Chaplains, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon, either afford to him, or receive from him." So writes Secretary Rushworth, and the "entertainment" given and received was that his Majesty attended Hatfield Church on the Sunday, and, to the dismay of Army Independents and Parliamentary Presbyterians alike, the forbidden Chaplains, who met the King at Royston and followed him to Hatfield, conducted the service, with "divers superstitious gestures," according to the Book of Common Prayer, and the service of the Church of England, the first time his Majesty has been afforded that privilege since he left Oxford! Dr. Hammond, one of the King's Chaplains, preached the sermon, and William Lee, the Puritan Rector, and his patron the Puritan Earl of Salisbury, apparently acquiesced in the arrangement with such qualms of the Parliamentary conscience as the reader may very well imagine! So shocked was the Presbyterian Parliament that the preacher at the monthly fast before the House two days afterwards gave irreverent utterance to the feelings uppermost for the moment in the words:—"If the wheels turn thus, I know not whether Jesus Christ or Sir Thomas Fairfax be the better driver."

Parliament is indignant, and gives futile directions that his Majesty be taken back to Holdenby whence he came! The King is carrying it now with rather a high hand, considering under whose roof he is staying, and that he is supposed to be under the dual control of Army and Parliament and declares he will go to Windsor. Indeed, the attitude of the King while at Hatfield was getting a little too dictatorial for the officers of the Army, who were obliged to give his Majesty a gentle hint as to his present position. As for Parliament they made an order that the Commissioners with the Army do remove the Duke of Richmond, Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Hammond, and all others that ought not to come to the King, according to their instructions, and that a letter be sent to the General to give order "that the guards attending his Majesty observe their commands in keeping malignants from the King."

The King remained at the Earl of Salisbury's until Thursday, July 1st, having been at Hatfield House five days and nights, when he went towards Windsor, "where he expected to see his children, of which he was very desirous." †

† "To the ringers when the King came through the town, 8*s.* 0*d.*" Churchwarden's Accounts, St. Peter's Parish, St. Albans.—"Paid to the King's footmen when the King went through the town, £1 0*s.* 0*d.*" St. Albans Mayor's Accounts.

† It may seem strange that all this should have happened while the King was under the roof of a Parliamentarian like the Earl of Salisbury, and at a Church with a Puritan Rector like Richard Lee, but the honour of entertaining his Majesty in person had not lost its force by reason of the Earl having opposed the Royal cause. Indeed, the King was, perhaps, more courted and flattered while on this journey through Hertfordshire than at any time since the beginning of the War.

Mr. Dowsett and others went on in advance on Wednesday, June 30th, and gave notice to Colonel Whitchcott, governor of Windsor Castle, of the King's coming, and that "dinner to-morrow at the Lord Carey's house by Watford is to be made ready for his Majesty as he passeth." As the King left Hatfield next morning we may fairly assume that the dinner was not kept waiting in vain as at Ware, but that the Lord Carey had the honour of entertaining his Majesty on the way to Windsor. During all this time his Majesty was "in all places as well provided for and accommodated, as he had used to be in any progress; the best gentlemen of the several counties through which he passed daily resorted to him, without distinction, and he was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places nearest his person." [*Clarendon.*]

Fairfax, Cromwell, and the Army had left St. Albans on June 24th after holding a Council of War there, and, owing to complaints of the inhabitants, a proclamation was issued that "no soldier was to molest any countrymen, their persons, or goods, in their marches." They passed through Watford to Berkhamsted, whence Fairfax wrote acquainting Parliament that the object of their movements was not to awe or be a terror to Parliament or to the City. Next day the headquarters were removed to Uxbridge and thence to High Wycombe.

Thus ended the King's last progress through Hertfordshire, and the passage of a great Army from the north by Royston to St. Albans, but not by any means the last of the historic scenes to be witnessed by the St. Albans and other Hertfordshire folk in "these distracted times."

A NOTABLE DILEMMA.—HERTFORDSHIRE SIDES WITH THE "BIGGEST BATTALIONS."—CROMWELL AND FAIRFAX THREATENED AT HERTFORD.

During the harvest time of 1647 there was a remarkable series of manœuvres of the Army around London, like men upon a chess-board, now closing in and now drawing off with each move of Parliament on the subject of pay for the soldiers; and with every forward move of the Army up goes the political thermometer of the City, and up go the shutters of its shops, to run down again as suddenly with a fresh turn of affairs! Amidst it all there is around the Houses of Parliament a scene of indescribable confusion. Between July 26th and August 6th the House is paralyzed by the mob, and votes are got through under circumstances hinted at by Whitelock, who tamely records the fact that "Apprentices and many other rude boys and mean fellows among them, came into the House of Commons and kept their hats on, and called out, as they stood, 'vote! vote!' and in this posture they stood till the votes passed to repeal the Ordinance for change of the Militia." Speaker Lenthall was forced into the chair, the members made to vote, inviting the King to come to London, Fairfax with the Army is known to be on the move, and the Common Council, after the inevitable sermon lasting from ten o'clock in the morning to five in the afternoon, writes to Fairfax to keep back his forces, and that the measures taken for the defence of the City were "no just cause to provoke a soldier."

But for all these pacific words steps are taken to raise a vast Army in the City. The Speakers of both Houses, and upwards of 60 Independent members left the House, as a protest against the rule of the mob, and the Presbyterians, now masters of the Houses, write to Fairfax. They refer to the Army's march on London "upon the pretence of defending the Houses from the danger of tumults," and add that, while having a due sense of the "undue liberty which some apprentices of the City of London and others, have taken upon themselves," yet they saw no sufficient cause for the Army marching hither, and (judging by the distractions raised at the news thereof) that the motion of the Army nearer the City is likely to precipitate the City and Army in a desperate and bloody engagement, not only to the disturbance of the Parliament's sitting, but also to the destruction thereof and of all authority, for which reason they send order requiring the Army not to come within 30 miles of London. Of the Parliament at Westminster now under the control of the City and its Apprentices, new Speakers were elected, a Hertfordshire man, Lord Hunsdon, of Hunsdon, near Ware, being chosen to preside in the Lords.

Among the votes passed by the Parliament, under that "horrid and insolent force" upon both Houses, was one asking the county of Hertford not to raise any forces to send to the Army, which makes it necessary to glance here at what was happening just inside and out of that 30-mile radius of the City of London while these "apprentices and rude boys" were manipulating the

votes of the Honourable Houses of Parliament. It was very well known that what had happened would bring the great Army of Ironsides Citywards once more. There was naturally another scare of a march of the Army on London, and this time with more reason than for that of six weeks before. The King, at Woburn Abbey, a few miles over the borders of Hertfordshire, is receiving delegates from the Army, and has delivered the remarkable words—" You cannot do without me. You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you," being too confident of being well received in the City †

Fairfax and the Army are at Bedford, and on the 31st of July the unfortunate Apprentice-ridden Houses of Parliament receive information out of Hertfordshire which shows that Fairfax had his idea of the situation and was bent upon giving effect to it. With a view to the march towards London on 29th July the following warrant had been issued from Bedford to the Committee of Militia for Hertfordshire.

"Gentlemen,—I have sent commissions to the Colonels and some other officers of Horse and Foot in your County and shall send to the rest of the officers their commissions very speedily ; and I desire you in the meantime to draw to rendezvous your Horse and Foot of your County, upon sight hereof towards Barkhampstead, and that you do send to me for further orders. I have appointed Mr. Barbar to fill up the blanks in your commissions, as you shall agree.

I remain,
Your assured friend,
T. FAIRFAX."

Here was another dilemma ! Parliament, compelled by the " apprentices and rude boys " to warn Hertfordshire not to send its Militia to strengthen the Army, and Fairfax required them to do so ! There is little time for wavering, for the Army is already on the march from Bedford towards the old rendezvous of " Barkhampstead," though a ludicrous incident happens on the way, which is too good to be passed over.

The Scotch Commissioners, in their anxiety to have an account of his Majesty's movements from time to time, had sent off, at an unfortunate moment, the Earl of Lauderdale to Woburn, " where wee expected that he should have bin used with that respect which is due to a Commissioner of the Scotch Parliament; but are herein extreamly disappointed, for upon Saturday morning early, before his Lordship was out of his bed, a grate many soldiers rushed into his chamber and coming to his bedside desired him speedily to be gone without any delay." And so poor Lauderdale before he can even see the Abbey, where the King is, was forced to dress " without being allowed to say his prayers," and hurried off from his lodgings in Woburn without any opportunity for that important interview with the King about an invasion of England by the Scots !

In the meantime the Hertfordshire Committee, acting upon Napoleon's view of the biggest battalions, has accepted Fairfax's warrant in preference to the request of Parliament, marched its Train-Bands to the rendezvous and joined the marching army at Berkhamsted. Besides doing this, the county had to meet the following urgent demand, which throws an interesting light upon the subject of the calls of the Army upon the resources of the people of the county. It is a warrant for the Commissary of the hundred of Cashor [Cashio]—" for providing 400 dozen of bread, 400 lb. of cheese, 400 lb. of bacon, and ten hogsheads of beer, to be at Hounsloe Heath, or at Uxbridge by 8 of the clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday."

Parliament, under the force of the " apprentices and rude boys," hearing of the action of Fairfax and the Hertfordshire Committee of Militia, issues an order and sends it down into the county, for the Sheriff to have published by drum and trumpet in the market towns " that Sir Thomas Fairfax's powers do not extend to the Train-Bands." To this Fairfax replies that " when the interest of the Common Council in their charge of the Militia shall be claimed as the birth-right of the City of London, it is time for all the Kingdom to look to their birth-rights," and he marches on !

But there was an interesting circumstance behind all this action of the Herts County Committee in siding with Fairfax and the Army. When the Independent members left the House, under the pressure of the mob, a number of the House of Lords and their Speaker left also, and as an element in this strange spectacle of a divided Parliament, the Lords who left their chamber included the Earl of Salisbury, by whose invitation these Independent Peers held an informal meeting in Hatfield House. At this meeting they acted in conjunction with Fairfax, and as

† " The King was the golden ball cast before the two parties, the Parliament and the Army; and the contest grew so great, that it must have involved the nation in blood, but the Army, having the greatest power, got the King again into their own hands, notwithstanding all endeavours to hinder it." [Fairfax's *Short Memorials.*]

the latter and his Army were marching to Berkhamsted, *en route* for Hounslow Heath, this little travelling "Upper House" moved also from Hatfield House across Hertfordshire to Sion House, the seat of the Earl of Northumberland, near Brentford, "in order to their conjunction with the Army." [Sir William Waller's *Vindication.*] Here, too, the excluded members of the House of Commons had assembled.

The Army gets to Colnbrook, London is boiling over with mingled feelings of war-fever and panic, and the City Commissioners, delivering a letter to Fairfax on Hounslow Heath, found the excluded Speakers and Independents backed up by an Army of 20,000; the soldiers throwing up their hats for a free Parliament! Evidently Hertfordshire had this time taken the side of the biggest battalions! The Army marches to London. It is a critical moment, when, as Carlyle says, the game seemed up and "even wooden Gog and Magog themselves in the old Guildhall are almost sweating cold with terror." The Army marches to the City, the soldiers carrying laurels in their hats, and makes its quarters at Putney, where Hugh Peters preaches a sermon, and a Council of War is held in the Church.

During these many moves and counter-moves of the Army, the alarm was all the greater from no one knowing where it would be next; and in the famous second march on London, just referred to, the messengers from Parliament to the General and the commissioners were sometimes sadly put to it to know where to go. Here is an amusing incident recorded in the sober pages of the journals of Parliament.

One, Edward Makin, a messenger, was sent on an important mission with letters for Fairfax and the Commissioners with the Army, and he was so long gone that when at last he did turn up, apparently to the surprise of the House itself, he is required to give an account of himself. He states that he went in search of the Army, first, to Hounslow, and then came cross-country back to St. Albans; finding no Army there, he went on to Dunstable, thence to Layton (Leighton Buzzard), and eventually to High Wycombe, where he found the head-quarters of the Army, deep in the arrangements for that march on London which had frightened Gog and Magog in the Guildhall. The General and Commissioners were in no mood to give any answer, and he was kept waiting, and then was obliged to go with them to Colnbrook, and so back to London just before the Army itself got there, and with no message to deliver, but a moody hint from Fairfax, that "he could see how things were, and could give any information thereof and state where the Army was."

When, at last, the Houses of Parliament had, in August, got rid of that "horrid and insolent force," and, clothed and in their right mind under the old Speakers, came to declare the votes passed during those days of anarchy to be null and void, they passed a special vote thanking the Committee of the Militia of Hertfordshire for raising its Militia, for the preservation of the peace of Parliament, the City and the Kingdom, and instructed Sir Thomas Dacres, member for the county, and Mr. Leman (member for Hertford), to convey their thanks to the county. [*Lords' Journals*, vol. ix.]

In reading or thinking of the general history of the Civil War we are too apt to regard the struggle between King and Parliament as a series of Marston Moor and Naseby fights, overlooking the almost innumerable collisions upon a smaller scale, which like a running fire of small arms filled up the intervals in the occasional roar of battle further away from the home counties; and also the personal risks and escapes of the commanders themselves surrounded by the jealousies and conspiracies of their own friends. In the Autumn of 1647, and the Spring of 1648, Hertfordshire had its full share in the tumults and the elements of disorder which were brewing at a time when the balance of parties was so much upset that it was sometimes difficult to know, even in the Army, who was running with the Royal hare and who was hunting with the Parliamentary hounds, if that figure may be adopted without injustice to the parties concerned.

In that "horrid and insolent" force upon the Houses of Parliament, which kept the Speakers outside and controlled the legislature for a few days, somebody in Hertfordshire had a hand, and Lieut.-General Cromwell was able to give information concerning this to the House in the month of October. The fact was that Hertfordshire was bound just then to be more or less mixed up with the plots and counter-plots in the brewing, for the elements of discord were brought into very close contact by the course of events, especially in the neighbourhood of Ware and Hertford. At Hadham, a few miles away, Lord Capel, like a lion *couchant*, has one eye on his family affairs and one on the political horizon, and there are other Royalists in like condition in and around Ware. Here, overlooking that picturesque piece of the Lea Valley between

Hertford and Ware—near the source of the New River, which King James helped to establish and of which his present unfortunate son sold the "King's shares" again to pay his father's debts —near this spot, on the 15th November, 1647, is to be the rendezvous of part of Fairfax's Army.

With Presbyterians in Parliament, Royalists in the country, Independents and "Levellers" in the Army, the chances of that "happy settlement of a firm and lasting peace," which had eluded the grasp of moderate men for so long, seemed as remote as ever, and nowhere was the divided sentiment more critical at this time than in the Army. "Let my Colonel be for the Devil an he will, and I will be for the King," one soldier would say, while others in the Army are neither for Cromwell nor the King, but for a political programme as wide as manhood suffrage for the people, upon which Cromwell found that "it did tend very much to anarchy."

Cromwell himself was suspected by Royalists because he had not supported the restoration of the King to the throne, and on the other hand by the "Levellers" because he did too much in negotiating at all. It is this impending split in the Army which Cromwell has to face in a remarkable Hertfordshire scene. One-third of the Army was ordered to meet at the rendezvous on Monday, November 15th, and the scene becomes the more notable from the fact that behind those political programmes dark and mysterious plots are brewing, affecting Cromwell himself. For the development of these plots, apparently, two mutinous regiments are marching towards Ware and Hertford, without any authority to be present at the rendezvous. Cromwell and Fairfax are to make their head-quarters at Hertford on Saturday night and Sunday, Nov. 13th and 14th, and the rumour goes round that this threatening, murmuring Army is about to precipitate what will be little short of a revolution! The plan of the conspirators is this: When Fairfax arrives at Hertford, he is to be secured by the soldiers, Cromwell is to be shot in his bed at Hertford on the Sunday night, and on Monday morning at the review the Levellers were to "go for higher game," when the charge was to be brought forward against the King himself! This charge the Army was to effectually prosecute, requesting Parliament to join them, with the alternative resolve "to cut the throats of all those who refused the same."

Enough of this plotting is known to make it a doubtful matter whether even Cromwell himself will come out of it unscathed. But while the mutinous regiments of Lilburn and Harrison are marching towards Hertford to push matters to a head at the rendezvous, Cromwell, knowing the kind of men he has to deal with, has already warned the guardians of the King at Hampton Court of the rumours of an attempt on his Majesty's life, and instructs Whalley to "have a care of his guard, for if such a thing should be done it would be counted a most horrid act." This letter is shown to the king, and while the plot at Hertford is brewing Charles escapes to the Isle of Wight.

The arrival of a considerable part of the Army under such circumstances must have had a great interest for the Hertford people, even when years of familiarity with the sight of armed men had resulted in indifference, if not occasionally in contempt; for what was done in the Army had not been done in a corner. It was notorious, and probably divided men's thoughts and opinions at the inns at Hertford Market on that Saturday.

Writing from Putney on the Friday, November 12th, Fairfax says:—"I shall to-morrow go to Ware, according to former resolutions, to rendezvous the Army, and shall be there until Monday towards night." On Saturday night Fairfax, Cromwell, and other officers arrive at Hertford and there have their headquarters and pass Sunday, November 14th, in readiness for the critical meeting on Monday. A council of war was held at Hertford on Sunday, at which the old expedient of a remonstrance against things disagreeable and an engagement to stand by things essential, was drawn up to be read at the head of each regiment, expostulating with the Levellers against the method of expressing their discontents, though acknowledging the justice of them, and requiring them to sign a declaration to accept what was agreed upon by the Council of the army—with this Cromwell and Fairfax retire to rest, to await the issue of events on the morrow.

THE WARE MUTINY IN CORK-BUSHFIELD.—THE "LEVELLERS LEVELLED."—HERTFORDSHIRE TAKES ITS BURDENS TO PARLIAMENT.

> I tell thee, Jack Cade, the clothier, means to dress the Commonwealth, and turn it, and put a new nap upon it.
>
> *Shakespeare's Henry VI.*

On Monday morning, Nov. 15th, 1647, the Hertford people are early astir to see Fairfax and Cromwell, who have escaped the plot of the

conspirators, riding out from their headquarters, along Fore Street towards the rendezvous, there to front, as Carlyle expressed it in a later time, "the levelling principle in a most earnest and dangerous manner, and to trample it out, or be trampled out by it on the spot; a dangerous review service."

One can imagine the old historic scene as Cromwell, Fairfax, and staff march along, knowing the dangerous crisis at hand, yet unconscious of the exact details of the conspiracy which has been hanging over them during the night, and only determined that, at all costs, military discipline shall take the place of anarchy in the Army a mile away. Outside the gateway of the principal inn, the trumpeters' music awakes the echoes of the streets of the town; around the old Town House groups of idlers, no longer wanted for the Army, are standing about, much as their descendants stand about the Assize Court of to-day. As the military spectacle passes along, all eyes, whether of busy or idle men, are turned upon the men whose power and whose fate are poised just now upon a delicate balance. If they succeed in extinguishing that smouldering fire of rebellion along the Ware-road, these two victorious soldiers and their colleagues will hold the power of England in the hollow of their hands, King and Parliament notwithstanding; if not, their heads may go the way those of less distinguished men have gone, and something of the history of England hangs upon the issue!

Messengers and trumpeters are coming and going, and the gentlemen freeholders are again concerning themselves about that familiar question of free quartering of soldiers. But there are differences enough among the soldiers themselves to make the rendezvous at Corkbush-field, on the Ware-road, memorable in the history of the times—the most confused medley of order and disorder is going on there that ever a November fog concealed in England. †

Upon the slopes of Corkbush-field were assembled, not the full Army which we have followed from Thriplow Heath, ‡ towards London, but still, soldiers everywhere in sufficient numbers to convert the country between Ware and Hertford into a huge camp.

The regiments mustered at the rendezvous were those of the First Brigade:—Of Horse: the General's own, Col. Fleetwood's, Col. Riche's and Col. Twistleton's regiments; and of Foot: the General's own, Col. Hammond's, and Col. Pride's regiments, and also the mutinous regiments of Col. Harrison and Col. Lilburn, which had come unbidden and in a very turbulent fashion—altogether four regiments of Horse and five of Foot. Two of the regiments—Colonel Lilburn's, "the most mutinous regiment in the Army," and Colonel Harrison's—present to the General the strangest spectacle perhaps ever witnessed by a military Commander, by meeting him, as he enters the field, with papers stuck in their hats—after the fashion of the four thousand freeholders of Buckinghamshire—containing this motto:—"England's freedom and soldiers' rights!" Moreover, immediately Fairfax and Cromwell get on the ground, another regiment hustles its leaders to the front with a petition anent "The agreement of the people." But the centre of the stormy scene is in Lilburn's regiment, where, says Rushworth, "it may not be forgot that upon the General's coming into the field, Col. Eyre and Major Scott, and others, were observed insinuating divers seditious principles into the soldiers, incensing them against the General and the General's officers."

Further, it appeared that "some inferior persons had been dispersing vexatious papers among the private soldiers, such as 'the agreement of the

† The scene of this famous rendezvous and mutiny, known as Corkbush-field (really Cockbush-field), is situate on the slope of the hill upon the right hand side of, and just above, the road from Hertford to Ware, about three quarters-of-a-mile from Hertford.

‡ Among the curious pamphlets arising out of the jealousies and rivalries in the Army during this year was one the title of which tells its own tale:—"The hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe Heaths to Whitehall, by five small Beagles (late of the Armie); or the Grandie-Deceivers unmasked (that you may know them) Directed to all the Free people of England, but in especiall to all that have and are still engaged in the military service of the Commonwealth, by Robert Ward, Thomas Watson, Simon Grant, George Jellis, and William Sawyer, late members of the Army, who upon the sixth March (1649), in the new Palace Yard, Westminster, were forced to ride with their faces towards their horses' tails, had their swords broken over their heads, and were cashiered for petitioning Parliament for relief of the oppressed Commonwealth, and delivering an account thereof to the Generall." The contents of this curious booklet are devoted to exposing the "strange actings in the name of the Army in palpable contrariety to the solemn engagement at Newmarket and Triploe Heath, made in June, 1647," and the difference apparently between the engagement and the "strange actings," is described as being "as great and as wide as betwixt bondage and freedom."

people,' and especially amongst Col. Lilburn's regiment. The soldiers [of this regiment] had driven all their officers away and one of them was wounded, Capt.-Lieut. Bray, being the only officer left of the regiment above a lieutenant"

Lilburn's regiment should have been watching the Scots in the North, but finding this too slow had marched without orders to the more exciting scene of the Ware rendezvous, and it was upon that disorderly march that the soldiers had driven their officers away. Harrison, with his paper-hatted soldiers, ought to have been at another rendezvous. Here was clearly a case for the application of Cromwell's "no nonsense" remedy, and Fairfax set about showing the unruly soldiers that it was to their interest to think less about "the agreement of the people," and in a more becoming manner about what were really "soldiers' rights."

The General, we are told, "expressed himself very gallantly at the head of every regiment, to live and die with them, and for those particulars which were contained in the Remonstrance, and, notwithstanding the attempts of Major Scott and others, to animate the soldiers to stand to the paper called 'the agreement of the people,' they generally, by acclamation, declared their affections and resolutions to adhere to the General." For the more blustering there was a less "gallant" rod in pickle. Major Scott, being a member of Parliament a little in advance of his time, was sent up in custody to be dealt with by Parliament. Captain Bray, the solitary officer left of his regiment above a lieutenant, was committed to custody. As for Col. Lilburn's and Col. Harrison's regiments standing there in review order, but obstinately allowing their papers to remain in their hats, Fairfax, with a sharp reproof, induced Harrison's men, "when they understood their error," to take their papers out of their hats, but no words would prevail with Lilburn's men, and Cromwell, riding along the ranks, gave the order to the men to tear the papers from their hats, and, finding no response, sternly drew his sword and dashed into the mutineers † The influence of the man who had been, and was still to be, a terror on many battlefields, was too much for the mutineers, who now yielded to the force of military discipline, removed the offensive papers and begged for mercy!

† Clarendon says he knocked two or three of them on the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his troops!

"By two or three such encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that spirit in the Army, and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of Cromwell, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the Parliament, Army and Kingdom." [Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.*]

Then came a Council of War on the spot in Corkbush-field, and eleven of the mutineers for example's sake were drawn forth. Three of them were tried and condemned to death. They were, however, allowed to draw lots for one of them to suffer the extreme penalty. The dice were thrown, and the man upon whom the lot fell (Arnald by name and henceforth a martyr in high esteem among the "Levellers") "was shot to death at the head of the Regiment."

In the House of Commons the next day a letter from the General is read giving an account of the proceedings at the rendezvous, and the House orders a letter to be sent to him "taking notice of his proceedings in the execution, according to the rules of war, of a mutinous person at the rendezvous near Ware, and to give him thanks for it, and to desire him to prosecute the examination of this to the bottom, and to bring such guilty persons as he shall see fit to condign and exemplary punishment." [*Commons' Journals.*] Nor did the example end with Arnald's execution, for a number of soldiers from Colonel Lilburn's regiment were confined in the county prisons; at any rate, a batch of ten of them were marched off from Hertford to St. Albans, as appears by payments to constables at the latter town.

While the mutinous regiment of Col. Robert Lilburn were getting the clamorous paper demands in their hats to meet the General and Cromwell and getting them out again, as described, a more famous individual had reached the town of Ware, close at hand, and there in one of its old inns took up his post of observation to await the development of events. This was Colonel John Lilburn, "Free-born John," the stormy petrel of a stormy time; one of the most pugnacious individuals of a fighting time, as ready to oppose Cromwell as Charles Stuart himself—"a Wilkes and a Bradlaugh rolled into one," and more; with demands for the people going beyond even this democratic end of the nineteenth century. But as things did not succeed at the rendezvous according to expectations, "Free-born John" came no further than

Ware, and for the time vanished from the scene.†

A fair idea of these socialist reformers, the "Levellers"—"men who declare that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality established both in titles and estates throughout the Kingdom"—may be formed from the fact that this identical paper, "The agreement of the people," which had been stuck into the hats of the soldiers at the Corkbush-field rendezvous, claimed among other reforms:—Redistribution of seats of members of Parliament, and proportional representation; dissolution of the Parliament which had so long continued; election of a Parliament every two years; that the power of representatives was inferior only to those who chose them; that forms of religious worship should not be enforced by any human power; that the people should not be impressed to serve in wars against their freedom; that all ranks be equal before the law, and no tenure, estate, charter, degree, birth, or place should exempt from ordinary legal proceedings; that the laws must be not only equal but must also be good and not destructive to the safety and well-being of the people. Finally these things were declared to be "our native rights," and a determination was expressed to secure and maintain them.

Fairfax in his despatch from Ware upon the termination of the incident says: "I may repeat once again I never yet upon any rendezvous found men better composed and better satisfied at parting than those nine regiments were, and, I trust in God, if a just care be taken to answer their reasonable desires they will so continue." Within two months, however, information reached the House that Col. Lilburn had been at Watford endeavouring to seduce the people there to subscribe to the "Engagement of the people," upon which business Mr. John Fynch, the younger, of Watford, was called upon to attend the House to give information.

After the Ware incident the headquarters removed to Windsor, but a considerable body of troops evidently remained within the county, for on December 7th there is an old familiar scene of divers gentlemen of the county of Herts setting out on horseback with petitions stuck in their belts, for the Parliament Houses in Westminster "desiring to be totally free from this intolerable burden and bondage of free quarter."

Some idea of the pressure of the Army upon the civil population and domestic life of Hertfordshire during these summer and autumn months of 1647 may best be gathered from the utterances of the petitioners themselves:—

"We have adventured our lives and exhausted our estates for the regaining of our almost lost and irrecoverable freedoms, and have been, through God's blessing, instrumental to the subduing of the common enemy, by which means we hoped by this time to have laid the foundations of a just Government settled, and our estates freed (at least) from all unequal and illegal taxations—but we find that we are now subject to greater bondage than when we first engaged for freedom, insomuch that we have paid more than our proportionable assessments with other counties to the maintenance of the several Armies, besides the maintaining of the Militia of our county and sending our several forces at our own charge upon several expeditions and main convoys to several parts of the kingdom at the particular charge of the county; and received upon free quarter the greatest part of the Earl of Essex's Army for above six months together, for which we never yet received any satisfaction. * * Notwithstanding all which, the common enemy being subdued, we groan under the intolerable burden of free quarter lately forced upon us for five months and more where many persons are scarce able to buy bread for their own families nor make provision for the sowing of their grounds; being forced above their abilities to quarter soldiers, and the best of us forced to be soldiers' servants in our own families, a burden every way unsufferable to free people; many of us being thereby utterly disabled to relieve the poor who daily increase and are ready to starve."

Upon this statement of their hard usage and "to prevent desperation," these Hertfordshire folk once more made their addresses, in the usual

† In one of the Mock-plays of the period *The Levellers Levell'd*, in Mercurius Pragmaticus, there occurs this reference to Lilburn and the Ware incident.

Enter John Solus [Lilburn?]
What direful planet is't that thwarts my hopes?
Did I but know I'd scale Jove's starry roof
And seize upon't and throw it down from thence like Lucifer
Oh! my cursed fate, this ominous day hath blasted all my hopes!

Enter Conspirator.]
This rendezvous at Ware hath marr'd us all,
The souldiers of our several regiments
Have pull'd their Protestations from their hats!

phrases, but tacking on to them some practical demands for equalization of taxes compared with other counties, the disbanding of supernumerary forces, and giving those that remained such allowances as would provide their own necessaries both for horse and man; that allowance might be made for the free quarter already taken, the burden being hard upon tenants, and that the Army, which had been so long amongst them, might be removed a little further off.

Unfortunately, though the petitioners concluded their piteous tale with due unction and humble respects, it was "like charming a deaf adder," as a contemporary writer remarked about Capel and the High Court, for the Parliament had only the power to add fresh burdens and no means of removing those existing, and so they replied, with that old threadbare formula:—"Their lordships return their thanks for the constant good affections, acknowledging that that county hath been very instrumental in affording their endeavours upon the commands of the Parliament; but this House will use their endeavours to have the burdens of the Kingdom eased." [*Lords' Journals*, vol. ix.]

The fact was the House was not at the time quite free from that old Walden difficulty of satisfying the claims of the soldiers; not for want of disposition, but because of the shortcomings of the counties themselves. Nine months arrears of the sixty thousand pounds a month for the maintenance of the Army, yet the counties had the temerity to petition Parliament against free quarter! It is clear if free quarter is to be taken off the inhabitants, the boot will have to be put on the other leg by calling in that nine months' arrears from the counties! If, says Parliament, you pay us six months of your arrears we will pay the soldiery, get them disbanded, yourselves relieved of free quarter, and the other three months' arrears remitted. The method of bringing this about shows how important a part stump oratory played among the people, whether in pulpit or market-place, for Sir William Litton and Sir Thomas Dacres, members for the county, are sent into Hertfordshire with instructions to "employ their best labours and dilligence at public meetings with the gentlemen and others of their county, to satisfy them of the necessity of the speedy despatch of this business according to the times appointed, and to let them know the ease and advantage that would accrue to their county by their ready payment of the said six months' arrears, and the inconvenience that would fall upon them by the continuing or coming of soldiers to free quarter among them if they do not speedily pay the same."

Clearly the divers gentlemen of Herts had better have left that petition alone!

With the arrival of Christmas, 1647, Puritan restraints were broken through in riotous proceedings. Puritans, disregarding the day, kept open their shops, and the Royalists responded by forcibly putting up their shutters for them, and playing football in the streets. Even the churches here and there, for once, got a little bit of decoration at Christmas time. The theatres, too, were re-opened, but only to be closed again under pains and penalties. About this time Hertfordshire women on the Royalist side are courageously struggling, against desperate odds, to get family estates out of the clutches of the Sequestrators, in order that their husbands may return from their temporary refuge abroad. There is a growing feeling that the prevailing party has overshot the mark, and with the approach of the spring of 1648 the last state of the conflict promises to be worse than the first! The Scotch Army of fifty thousand is hanging over the north of England "like a flaming comet"; in London there are tremendous riots and tumults among noisy young Roundheads, the apprentices again; and in the tumult there are cries of "for God and King Charles," while bonfires are lit in honour of the King's birthday. The differences in the Army have not been composed, and at a meeting at St. Albans the agitators of the Lilburn type denounce "the ambition of the grandees," and draw up a petition asking for the immediate adoption of "the agreement of the people," which had been removed from their hats in Corkbushfield—an ill-timed move which Cromwell was obliged to put down again with a firm hand. Amidst all these distractions the tide of Royalism continued to rise even in Hertfordshire as well as in London, and for the former there will be an active share in the Second Civil War which is imminent.

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR.—FIGHTING IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

EXCITING CHASE OF THE CAVALIERS! THE BATTLE OF ST. NEOTS.

The Royalist rising in Kent was reflected in Hertfordshire and in Essex. Lord Capel, having had secret interviews with the King, wakes up from his retirement at Hadham, and receiving a commission from the Prince of Wales to command

forces in the Eastern Association, buckles on his armour once more, and from a lion *couchant* soon becomes a veritable lion rampant, arouses all Hertfordshire and alarms Parliament itself by the influence of his fiery energy in the beginning of what is destined to be a second civil war.

On the 4th of May, 1648, two thousand Essex men, on horse and on foot, go up with a petition to Parliament, representing the wishes of thirty thousand of the inhabitants of the county, who, remembering the burdens of the Army in previous years, pray that the King may be satisfied and the Army disbanded. A general protest is growing against military rule till the old pamphleteers cry out "How long halt ye between two opinions? If Fairfax be King, serve him; if Charles be King, restore him!" Innumerable horsemen join Capel's standard, and the man who hampered Cromwell's recruiting around Cambridge at the beginning of the fray, for the moment electrifies the old Parliamentary machine at Westminster. On the 8th of June the House is considering the information which has come out of Hertfordshire respecting the movements of Lord Capel. †

The gentlemen that serve for the county are hastily summoned up to Derby House to confer with the Committee there. Capel is not alone in this second Commission of Array for Sir Thomas Fanshaw, of Ware Park; Sir John Watts, of Mardocks, near Ware; George Bromley, of Westmill, near Ware; and others, whom we shall meet again at the day of reckoning at Goldsmith's Hall, are assisting him in the organization of a large force of Hertfordshire men for service, as fate will have it, in one of the most terrible experiences of the whole of the Civil War, viz., the siege of Colchester, to which events are hastening. Lord Capel does not appear to have deliberately set himself and his troops against his neighbours in Hertfordshire, but rather to prepare for service outside the county, and so when he had drawn off his force into Essex it was with Royalist troops coming into the county from elsewhere that the Hertfordshire people had to contend. In Cambridge, feeling runs so high that "disgraceful expressions in the schools" and the rough handling of the public orator, lead to fighting between "Royalists and Schollers and Parliamenteers," and a hot dispute, in which the "Parliamenteers" came off victorious.†

Altogether things are coming to a head in a very unpleasant fashion, for some of the more daring of the Cavaliers have the hardihood on Sunday, 25th June, to send up to the Parliamentary Boanerges, Dr. Burges, late vicar of Watford, and now preacher at St. Paul's Cathedral, while he is actually in the pulpit of St. Paul's before the sermon, a note subscribed with several names commanding him to "give solemn thanks to Almighty God for his Majesty's late deliverance from the danger of poisoning" and to "pray for the good success" of the forces under Lord Goring, Sir Charles Lucas and other notable men engaged in getting up the fray which is to result in the second Civil War! How the great Parliamentary preacher kept his countenance the record does not say, but Parliament set about the usual fruitless errand of seeking to find the author at a time when the pen was as freely used as the sword. Capel and his neighbours about Ware have marched off with their forces into Essex and effected a junction with the Earl of Norwich and Sir Charles Lucas at Colchester. Fairfax, ill with gout, has to get into the saddle and meet this formidable body of Royalists in Essex, and here comes in a curious piece of comedy, as a prelude to the terrible tragedy of the next few weeks.

The Essex Committee were sitting at Chelmsford, taking measures to check the Royalists, when they were smartly checkmated themselves, captured by the Royalists under the Earl of Norwich, and carried off prisoners to Colchester, where Capel's Hertfordshire troops and a remnant of the beaten Kentish Royalists met. The town of Colchester, which had paid its quota of men and money to the Eastern Counties Association at Cambridge, thus became, more by force of circumstances than by its own acts, the scene of a terrible tragedy for its inhabitants to share in. Under these circumstances, and by the arrival of Fairfax to surround the place, the unfortunate Committee-men got in the beleaguered town with their enemies and besieged by their

† "1648, June 9th.—The House was informed that the Lord Capel was very active in the county of Hertford, where he lives, drawing the ignorant, discontented, and disaffected people in that county into rebellion. Where he hath got a Head, and will Body very fast if not prevented. The House ordered to refer this business to the Committee of Derby House, to give speedy order for the suppression of the said Lord Capel, and what party he hath got with him, to the end that the peace of the county may be preserved."—Rushworth's *Historical Collections.*

† Another great Fight in the City of Cambridge, King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. E. 448 (2),

friends under Fairfax! But while this was unpleasant for the Committee, it placed Parliament in a difficulty, and so, as a temporary arrangement, some members of the Hertfordshire Committee under Mr. Leman, member for Hertford, were sent down to Colchester to do duty for that county while their own Committee-men, shut up in Colchester with the Royalists, were enduring the horrors of the siege at the hands of their own General! Goring and Lucas inside the city compelled the unfortunate Committee-men to write to Parliament asking them not to send any forces against the place, but the ruse did not succeed.

To make up for the loss of the unfortunate Committee-men, and the indignity of their imprisonment, Parliament ordered the acting Committee to "seize twenty men that they think considerable for releasing the Committee of the County, and send them to the General to have such usage as the Committees have." †

But other matters of a military kind were also happening which claim attention on local grounds. One was the siege of Deal Castle, in which Col. Axtell, a Hertfordshire soldier of note, who will yet become more notable, played a conspicuous part. Fairfax, after a terrible fight all night in the pouring rain in the streets of Maidstone, had struck a blow at the rising in Kent, and while the bulk of the vanquished passed over into Essex some came into Hertfordshire, and in the opening days of June there is much confusion in the county on all sides. Col. Alban Cox and Major Barber are beating up forces for Parliament, but cannot be in all places at once. So the people themselves have to "stand on their guard" wherever the Royalist troopers make their appearance. The first notable skirmish of this kind happened at Elstree, where the Edgeware and Elstree men rose in sufficient numbers to overpower the Royalists and take some of them prisoners. The soldiers were sent as prisoners to Hertford Gaol, and the Edgeware and Elstree men for their prowess were awarded the arms taken from the Royalists and some of the horses, the best of the latter being ordered to be sent up to London for the service of the State. The Committee of both Houses of Parliament is sitting at Derby House in London daily and the Earl of Salisbury and his son, Viscount Cranborne, are both regular attendants. Despatches pass to and from the Hertfordshire Committee daily for the safety of the county. Col. Cox and Major Barber are ordered to secure the passages to prevent the enemy coming into the county, and the neighbouring county of Hunts is ordered to break up its bridges in the event of the enemy's forces coming that way. The Herts Committee of Militia are called upon to get together such Horse, Foot, and Dragoons in the county as they think fit.

In Surrey, the young Duke of Buckingham and his brother, the two sons of the assassinated Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Holland or Peterborough, are carrying on a little war of their own, knowing that Fairfax has been drawn away towards Colchester.

At this point Hertfordshire puts two troops of Horse and two companies of Dragoons into the field, and by desire of Parliament they march into Surrey to oppose the Royalists there, under the Duke of Buckingham. They had scarcely left ere another skirmish with some Royalists occured in the neighbourhood of Barnet and Mimms. The Royalists were in this case, as at Elstree, beaten, and some of their number taken prisoners, and their pistols and horses were distributed among the Herts men as a reward for their valour.

A Parliamentary party, under Sir Michael Livesey and Major Gibbon, including the Horse and Dragoons out of Hertfordshire, defeated the Royalists under the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland, near Kingston-on-Thames, and, as it happened, drove them over into Hertfordshire—"into the lion's jaws." Though weakened by the loss of 100 killed and wounded, including the young brother of the Duke of Buckingham, besides 200 taken prisoners, the Royalists still numbered about 500 Horse. The Earl of Holland was wounded and came into Hertfordshire with a bullet in his shoulder, and the Parliamentarians in hot pursuit. They entered the county by way of Harrow-on-the-Hill, and "by narrow lanes" made in the direction of St. Albans.

The effect of this movement of the Royalist force into the county aroused the Hertfordshire people, and a declaration goes forth, proclaimed by drum and trumpet in every market town in the county, "stirring up the hearts of the people" to combine "for the defence of the King, Parlia-

† According to the Diary of a Lady of the time, one of the twenty considerable men to be taken as hosts for the imprisoned Committee was the son of Lord Capel, who was taken "out of his house in Essex from his mother, and carried to Lord Fairfax to be kept prisoner * * * and this son, being but a young youth, his mother was brought abed of a son * * with the grief of it."

ment and Kingdome." The Hertfordshire Committee assembles, and decides unanimously that the towns in the county shall join with the adjacent towns in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in raising forces for the defence and preservation of these counties against the forces under the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland, raised to "involve this kingdom in more bloudy and desperate war."

From the Committee in London despatches are sent off in all directions, giving intelligence that the enemy have certainly entered Hertfordshire by way of Harrow, and are marching towards Barnet, but that they are "extreme tired." Then, on Saturday, July 8th, that "the Enemy are to be this night at St. Albans or Redbourn," and urging the Herts Committee to preserve the peace of their county, and stating for their encouragement that Col. Scroop is marching from before Colchester to their assistance.

Upon the receipt of this, and similar intelligence from other sources, it was found that something must be done besides beat of drum and proclamation. The time had come for more vigorous action. Though forces were in pursuit, Hertfordshire must prepare to do its own fighting if need be. So "the well-affected of this county who assembled themselves together in a posture of war have secured Hatfield House, belonging to the Earl of Salisbury, to prevent the designs of the Enemy, and have placed a guard of musquetiers there." But, as it turns out, the musquetiers drawn up to defend Hatfield House are not likely to be troubled, for the Parliamentary Force under Sir Michael Livesey and Major Gibbon have made such hot pursuit that the Royalists have enough to do to keep on the move through the County without turning aside to Hatfield House. After passing through St. Albans and making a stir among the market people there, and "courting the magistrates with plausible speeches," they march on towards Luton and Dunstable, and Sandridge and Markyate Street are mentioned as places through which they were known to have passed. [Despatches in State Papers.]

There was always one advantage in a pursuit of this kind, viz., that the Parliamentary troopers knew the Inns on the road usually patronized by the Royalists, and could make straight for these upon entering a town. Acting upon this experience "certaine scouts" of the pursuers entered the town of Luton, and at once made for the "sign of the Prince's Arms," where a characteristic little piece of Cavalier revelry was being enacted by a few of the more reckless of the Royalist troops. Making their way into the Chamber the scouts found six troopers "very merry and drinking of healths." Their swords were drawn and "stuck into the ceiling of the Chamber, their pistols lying by them and their hats upon the table; but by reason of their sudden surprisall, they soon left their quaffing and drinking, and forced to cry out (in the chief of the jollity) for mercy, and to yield themselves prisoners." †

Evidently the drinking of healths, like mere Chauvinism in all ages, will not save the King, and there will have to be a firmer grip of the sword if Capel's rising, and the second Civil War, are to come to anything in Hertfordshire. Two miles from the Luton town end Livesey's "forlorn hope," or advance party, came up with the rear of the Royalists; there was a hot encounter, resulting in loss of several lives on both sides and the taking of prisoners for Parliament. There was also another hot dispute some miles further on. In these diversions, the pursuers seem to have lost trace of the main body, but another Parliamentary force is on their track from the opposite side of Hertfordshire.

Fairfax, before Colchester, has heard of the affair and sends off a body of Horse, seven troops under Col. Scroop, to join in the pursuit; and by a long cross-country march, they enter Hertfordshire from Bishop Stortford way.

In Hertford on Saturday, July 8th, the subject of the pursuit of the wounded Earl of Holland and his five hundred troopers is being discussed at the inns over tankards of ale and Rhenish wine. It is well-known in Hertford, as in other parts of the county, which way the Royalist troops are marching, and when on Saturday night, or Sunday morning, the red coats, under Col. Scroop, ride into the town from Colchester, the place is suddenly thrown into great excitement.

Colonel Scroop had hoped to effect a junction with Livesey and Gibbon, and crush out this part of the Royalist rising at a blow. He soon gets to know from members of the County Committee and from the Mayor of Hertford the direction the Royalists have taken, but after that trying forced march from Colchester the horses are scarce fit for any further travel. On Sunday, apparently after a few hours' rest, Col. Scroop

† *Bloudy News from Bedfordshire*, King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus., E. 452.

finds that the Royalists have crossed Bedfordshire, by Dunstable, to "Brickhilts" (Brickhill), that from thence "they took their circumference towards Bedford town, not daring to stay long in a place by reason of the close pursuit of the Parliament's Forces, and from thence across that county towards St. Neots."

The members of the Committee for the Militia at Hertford were able to send one of their number with Col. Scroop "upon the Lord's Day between two and three of the o'clock * * to Hitchin to procure him six good guides, two of which were Captains of the Militia; these directed our party the nearest way to St. Needs, whither the enemy was gone." †

Why the Hitchin guides were necessary to conduct the Parliamentary forces along a well-known road like that from Hitchin to St. Neots, may perhaps seem strange to the reader, but it should be borne in mind that the Earl of Holland and party only arrived at St. Neots about the same time that Col. Scroop got to Hitchin, and that the march to St. Neots and attack upon the Royalists was therefore expected to take place in the night time.

The Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland with their "4 or 500, all Horse, who as they went left divers tired by the way," reached St. Neots on Sunday night, and, as in other towns, on entering, made speeches "to court the magistrates and the inhabitants, at which the Earl of Holland had a better faculty than at the sword." That speech by the wounded Earl of Holland to the St. Neots people now lies buried away in the old despatches of the "war correspondents" of the time, and with it the reader need not be troubled, further than that it disclaimed any object of plunder or intention to make a "new warre," and protested only a desire "to rescue the Kingdome from the arbitrary power of the county Committees, and secure a well settled government under our Royall King Charles."

Whatever the people of St. Neots thought of the oration, there was no help for them, for the Earl was "so weary and shaken in his joynts that he had better well to his bed than to his horse," and so at St. Neots they must stay for the Sunday night.

† A letter signed Isaac Puller and William Plomer (mayor of Hertford), sent from Hertford, past five in the morning, July 11th, 1648 to the Honourable Committee of Derby House. [King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. E. 452.]

There was a personal element which gave spur to the ardour of Col. Scroop's Horse in their midnight adventure and which enhanced its interest for the people of Hertfordshire. A leading man in that four or five hundred Cavaliers at St. Neots was one Dalbier or Dulbier, who had been Quarter-Master-General for Parliament under the Earl of Essex, a well-known man about St. Albans both to tradespeople who furnished supplies, and to the inhabitants who bore hardships, when the Parliamentary Army was quartered there. He had gone over to the Earl of Holland in this adventure and every horseman under Col. Scroop, now riding through Bedfordshire in the still summer night, would give a day's pay to have the first sword-thrust at Dalbier, so bitter was the feeling against him! Among the Royalists, troops in St. Neots his influence was great, and he "was esteemed an eminent officer among them, to whose advice they much adhered." Dalbier advised the halt at St. Neots, "engaged to make good the town of St. Neots against any party that should pursue them, and that he would engage his life, which he would lose rather than see them surprised." So Dalbier watched through the quiet hours of night, and though he "drank sack stiffely," to do him justice, he stoutly justified the old Parliamentary motto when the storm suddenly burst upon the sleeping town in that early summer morning of July 10th, 1648.

Just before sunrise on the Monday morning the advance guard of Col. Scroop's Force entered the town of St. Neots, which made the Cavaliers cry "To Horse! to Horse"! Those on guard were first attacked and routed, and amid the sound of trumpets and the rattle of musketry, most of the Royalists are out of bed and in arms by the time the main body of Parliamentary Horse enters the town. The general attack which followed, however, was so sudden and irresistible that the Duke of Buckingham and about sixty Horse fled along the Huntingdon road. Not so the Earl of Holland and his party, for around the old Inn, with its back to the river, where the Earl slept, the most sanguinary part of the fight occurred. The Earl was surprised in his bed, and to protect the place his party got beneath the archway of the Inn yard and closed the iron gates facing the street. But it was only to set a trap for themselves, for the broad river Ouse cut off all escape in the rear, and when the attacking party got into the premises they "made short work" of the Earl's party, many of whom were drowned in the river in their flight! The Earl of Holland himself, who had half-dressed, is secured

a prisoner, and, with that more ready faculty of speech than swordsmanship, reminds his captors that he is a gentleman, and in a model speech for the occasion desires that he may be used as a gentleman, that he may have quarter for his life and be civilly used. As for poor Dalbier, the former Parliament man, he fought to the death, and was among the slain, and the Parliamentary soldiers "to express their detestation of his treachery hewed him in pieces"! Three other officers besides Dalbier were among the killed, and 30 officers, 120 troopers were taken prisoners, and 200 horses, besides arms and "of gold and silver clothes a store."

Two of those six guides who conducted Col. Scroop from Hitchin to St. Neots—viz., the Captains of the Hertfordshire Militia—were present at the attack and sent back by the other guides details of the fight to Isaac Puller and William Plomer (mayor of Hertford), from whose letter just quoted it appears that the bulk of the prisoners were "secured in St. Needs Church and are expected to be sent this day to Hitchin." As for the Earl of Holland he was civilly treated and sent off by coach, and him we shall meet again.

It is left on record by the defeated Royalists that the Parliamentary troopers in the battle of St. Neots fought "more like devils than men." For those who got away it was lucky that the forced march from Colchester and across Hertfordshire made further pursuit difficult—"our march was so long and our horses so tired that we could not pursue"! Thus ended the battle of St. Neots, of which it is recorded in the Journals of Parliament that a letter was read from Col. Scroop "from St. Neots of 10th July giving an account of the great victory it pleased God to give the forces under his command, against the Earl of Holland and others, at St. Neotes, with a list of the prisoners taken and the persons of quality slain."

So critical was the state of things, and so divided the feeling when the above incident occurred, that the St. Neots prisoners met with a good deal of sympathy on the way up to London, and some of them got rescued by the mob in the streets of London on their arrival, and the Committee of Derby House complained of the people having grown "to that insolency as they will be judges of the actions of their superiors and take upon them to set at liberty those whom we find just cause to restrain." The appeal to popular sympathy had, however, failed to arouse an enthusiasm sufficient for entering upon another War.

Even the newspapers were not keen over the prospect of more fighting, and one of them, bearing a Parliamentary title though Royalist in tone, chronicled the fighting at St. Neots as "another great victory at St. Edes between somebody, but the Lord knows who. It seems they were Loyalists and Round-heads. They say they have taken my Lord Holland, and killed Dalbier. Believe them when you see it; the Saints can afford you a dozen lies better than on oath." [*Parliament Kite*] †

THE SIEGE OF COLCHESTER.—PRISONERS IN HERTFORDSHIRE CHURCHES.—COUNCIL OF WAR IN ST. ALBANS ABBEY.—THE KING'S FATE SEALED!

As a considerable portion of the troops in the siege of Colchester were Hertfordshire men—certainly of those inside with Lord Capel, and probably some of those outside under Fairfax—a passing reference to this terrible episode of the second Civil War seems necessary here.

The besieging operations were conducted by Fairfax himself, while the city was defended by Lord Capel, the Earl of Norwich, Sir Charles Lucas, and others. As the place became completely invested by Fairfax, every fresh piece of news "from the leaguer before Colchester," was devoured with avidity, and the Royalist printing presses sent out martial lines calling upon the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, and "the rest of the renowned Captains in Colchester" to—

> Shrink not, brave heroes, be you not dismaid;
> Things work apace, be patient and ere long,
> Unto your rescue come three armies strong!

Capel and Goring were credited with "a haughty and peremptory bearing," and when summoned to surrender they returned "the bold and scornful answer that if any more letters of that kind were sent they would hang up the messengers."

The frequent sallies of the imprisoned forces were met with great slaughter from Fairfax's cannonade, and the garrison eventually found it necessary to set fire to the suburbs in self-defence,

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† This rollicking journalist concludes his account with the lines—

> Bear witnesse I have not in verse nor prose
> So much as mentioned Cromwell's flaming nose.

so that "for above a mile together," says Whitelock, "the houses were one sheet of flame." The inhabitants, in a time of high prices even outside —for 1648–9 were famine years—were reduced to terrible straits, and even horse-flesh appears to have been a luxury! Horrors upon horrors followed, till eventually Goring and Capel could no longer withstand the cries of starving women and children from within, and Fairfax's merciless assaults from without, and on August 28th the city surrendered its ruinous streets and ghastly army of skeletons. †

Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were led out and shot, Goring escaped to France, and Capel for the time being escaped execution, but his time was yet to come in more distinguished quarters. Among the prisoners was Sir John Watts, and apparently the other Hertfordshire gentlemen, for the gentlemen taken prisoners numbered 65. There were also taken prisoners, 72 lieutenants, 69 ensigns and cornets, 183 sergeants, and 3,067 private soldiers. The Essex men fighting in the ranks before Colchester were so highly commended for standing so many cannon shot, "insomuch that for the future they deserve to be called 'Essex Lions.'" It was also far and away the hardest part of the conflict that fell to the lot of Hertfordshire soldiers.

The siege being over, Parliament on 31st Aug. resolves that Arthur Lord Capel be impeached by Parliament of high treason for levying actual war against the Parliament and Kingdom, and Mr. Leman (member for Hertford) and his colleagues, who took up the broken thread of the Essex Committee work, are called before Parliament to "give an account of the imprisonment of the Parliamentary Committee at Colchester."

To the people of Hertfordshire had come more than once some experience of the famous paradox that in war there is nothing worse than a defeat excepting a victory. If the Army of the Earl of Essex had met with reverses or obstacles towards winter time, which made it no longer possible to continue the campaign, then the Army found convenient winter quarters in Hertfordshire, and, failing the subsidies of Parliament for paying the soldiers, it meant free quarter upon the inhabitants. If there were a victory, then the same Army or some part of it would march back in triumph towards the Metropolis, and the victors brought with them the Royalist prisoners, in a more or less crippled condition, to burden the people of Hertfordshire.

No experience during the War was more marked in this respect than that which resulted from the siege and taking of Colchester. The event was supremely interesting to Hertfordshire people, because Lord Capel and other Hertfordshire gentry, and soldiers, were among the prisoners. But of more moment even than this was it that from dilapidated Colchester, starved, burnt and ruined, the scene changed once more into the centre of Hertfordshire. After the execution of Lucas and Lisle, Fairfax made but a short stay at Colchester, but removed with his Army to the old rendezvous at St. Albans, and with them the thousands of hungry prisoners, who had followed Capel till even horse-flesh enough to keep body and soul together was hardly to be obtained, are brought hither. The question of how they are to be accommodated and how they are to be fed, might very well have been put in the words of Cromwell over the 10,000 prisoners from Dunbar—"After much deliberation we can find no way how to dispose of these prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends (to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur), but by sending them into England."

If for "England" we read "Hertfordshire," this was pretty much the problem for Fairfax in disposing of the hungry thousands from Colchester, whom the Army brought with them into Hertfordshire in obedience to the condition of the "not losing them," and then left pretty much to the Hertfordshire people to meet the much harder condition of "the not starving them." But the Army had brought them, and the problem had to be faced.

The prisons and other buildings in the towns of the county were not sufficient to hold them, even if no other demands were made upon them. To make matters worse, prisoners were coming up from Cromwell's victories in Scotland, and Col. Butler is enjoined to send out parties of Horse along the great roads north of St. Albans and of Ware to stay such prisoners from coming any further into the county. But even if these can be stayed from coming into the county, the Hertfordshire folk will have as much as they can do to accommodate the vast Army of prisoners

† During the siege the inhabitants of Colchester were reduced to such terrible straits that, with a garrison of about 4,000 soldiers to victual as well as themselves, 800 horses were eaten. During the siege 800 houses were burnt, and at the time of the surrender they had "only a barrel and a half of powder left, and plenty of the enemy's great shot"

from Colchester. So at various centres in the county, to which the Army itself marches, the churches are turned for the time being into prisons and hospitals, and filled so full with the famished and wounded soldiers that it is necessary to knock out all the windows! Of this experience two typical examples must suffice.

At St. Albans they fix upon the old historic building near the forts commanding the north end of the town. Two centuries before, the tower of St. Peter's Church had guided the beacon lights of Hertfordshire in that terrible drama of the Wars of the Roses, and had thrown the lurid light of its old pitch-pan telegraph over that impressive battlefield, when the God's acre around its walls was "stuffed full with bodies of the slain." Now it is the sanctuary itself which is to be given up to the terrible harvest of the sword! Inside the bare walls of the Church—for all the fittings as well as the windows are removed for the occasion—the sick and wounded, half-starved prisoners, are crowded, and the townspeople have to tax themselves to provide the pitiable crowd with bread and cheese. †

Detached parts of the Army are apparently located at other towns in the county, in order to meet the pressing necessity of accommodating the prisoners, and in each case the same scene is enacted—the parish Church is converted into prison and hospital combined, and the windows are taken out of the church in order to mitigate the horrors of huddling together so many of the hungry and wounded soldiers. Among other places that had their share of these unpleasant visitations was the town of Berkhamsted, which, situated on the line of communication between London and Aylesbury, and in near approach to the King's quarters during the War, had seen as much soldiering as any town in the county excepting St. Albans. Here the Church was occupied by the Colchester prisoners and the windows were taken down, as at St. Albans, a charge of a 2*d.* rate per acre upon the land in the parish being resorted to as a means of replacing the windows. †

Bad as all this was for the people of Hertfordshire, with no very encouraging prospect of recouping themselves for the extraordinary expense and inconvenience they were put to by the arrival of the Army and its prisoners from Colchester, it is impossible to realise it to the full without bearing in mind the desperate condition of the inhabitants of the county themselves at this time, owing to the high prices of a famine year. All through the year of 1648 there was rain enough to damp the ardour of anyone but a Royalist—winter and summer rain came down until "cattle died everywhere of murrain," and grain went up to famine prices. And so when in the midst of a late harvest, which promised no relief for the suffering, there came this additional burden, it must have been hard enough to find the bread and cheese for that hungry crowd of prisoners in the Churches. The demands of the Army and the demands of the London markets upon the home counties so aggravated the evil that, taken all round, while it lasted, this expiring effort of the second Civil War, brought about perhaps to a large extent by a Hertfordshire man, must have been more burdensome to Hertfordshire than to any other part of the country, with the exception of Colchester itself.

Fairfax, with his victorious soldiers, settled down at St. Albans to take up those troublesome functions of the Army-Parliament, which made its demands for "justice" at Saffron Walden and Thriplow Heath. The people of St. Albans became once more alarmed at the prospect of so much soldiering in their midst, and lest London should get again into the same

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	£	s.	d.
† "Paid for taking down the windows and removing the things out of the Church when the Colchester prisoners lay there.....		4	0"
"Paid for nailing up the Church door when the prisoners were there.....			6"
"Paid a tax for bread and cheese for the prisoners.....			9"
"Paid to a man for making clean the Church after the prisoners were gone...		7	6"
"Paid the glazier a bill for work done at the Church..	14	0	0"

Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Peter's Parish, St. Albans, 1648-9.

† "Oct. 8th, 1648. It is agreed att a vestry that in respect the Church windows, by reason of the Colchester prisoners kept in the Church, are pulled downe, that for the repair of them the above mentioned rate shall be made at twopence an acre."—*Berkhamsted Churchwardens' Accounts*, Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 18,778, p. 142.—It is a pity that, like so many records of the period, this interesting old MS., which somehow has strayed away from the parish to the British Museum, contains so few entries for the years of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, for in other respects the MS., covering the long period from 1584 to 1784, contains much interesting information of a local character.

state, a letter is sent from Fairfax at the head-quarters at St. Albans, and read in the House, acquainting them of his arrival here and minimising its significance by adding that he has "a very small train, so that there need not be any fear that we shall straiten the parts about the City in point of provision." At St. Albans Fairfax remained for some time, and in October he receives a letter here from Cromwell at Berwick detailing his victories in the North; but more interesting still is the news which reaches the Army here of proceedings concerning the King in the Isle of Wight, and for forty days the officers at St. Albans, including Colonel Pride, waiting his opportunity, are closely watching that historic scene of attempts at treaty-making with the King, in which the Earl of Salisbury, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, discovers, too late, as Warwick reminded him, "how much the King has improved."

The old Saffron Walden and Royston attitude of the soldiers in regard to the Nation's affairs is beginning to assert itself, in a way which shows that it will be with these stern Independents and Ironsides at St. Albans, rather than Parliamentary Commissioners and treaty-makers, that the King's fate will ultimately rest.

Once more the interest of the great drama centres in old Verulam. The last effort of the War has expired in Hertfordshire as elsewhere, the Hertfordshire heroes of Royalism are for the most part in the Tower, or have fled the country, and now in the dull November days of 1648 the precincts of the Old Abbey, which have witnessed the appearance and disappearance of Romans, Saxons and Normans—

> Whose distant footsteps echo
> Through the corridors of time,

—here on ground consecrated by centuries of matins, vespers and vigils, the old pavements, worn by the stately march of ecclesiastics, are to resound with the clanking of swords. An element as of violence ruffles the serenity of the place, as the stern rough saints and soldiers who have followed the watchword of "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon" assemble for the great Council of the now all-powerful Army to try its strength with Parliament over that knotty point whether it would be safe, just, and right to treat with "the man Charles Stuart." The old Abbey had already looked down upon some strange scenes in its history, but these gatherings of Fairfax's Council of Officers, day after day within its walls, gave place to no other scene perhaps in point of interest, considering the possibilities of the protracted deliberations in which unctuous prayers, long sermons, moderate proposals, and noisy clamour for cutting off the King's head, all found a place.

For there, in solemn conclave, opened with enough praying to disturb the monastics in their graves beneath the pavement, there is brewing a manifesto which is destined to link old Verulam with one more of the great tragedies of history. A long-winded, wordy document of perplexing sinuosity of argument, difficult to follow in these days of telegrams and business memoranda, but instinct with one stern main purpose not to treat with the King, is produced.

For five days that Council of Officers is sitting in the Abbey, now hearing prayers, now sermons, and now drafting that "Remonstrance" which is practically to be an indictment of the King. On the 11th the Council adjourns, and after a sort of informal gathering at the Bull's Head (the Bull was situate on Holywell Hill), the Remonstrance gets again under weigh. There is much divided feeling over the drastic remedy of "cutting off the King's head," and even Lilburn could see that getting rid of the King might be only to play into the hands of the Army. On the 16th of November the Council of Officers again assembles in the Abbey, and after making some additions to the already voluminous Remonstrance, it finally passes and becomes the document now well known to history as that which practically settled the fate of the King.

Looking over that "Great Remonstrance," which was then formulated in St. Albans Abbey, as it lies buried away in contemporary records, one sees a mass of argument covering the whole ground of the War, enough when in print to fill about forty pages of this book, with parentheses as thick as "leaves in Valambrosia," and sometimes one within the other. It must suffice here to state that the Lord General sums up the whole case by showing, from what has happened in the past, that it is not safe for the Kingdom, for Parliament to treat with the King in any manner which should imply "his restitution without trial and judgment;" that it would not be just before God or man, and that—

"That capitall and grand Author of our troubles, the person of the King, by whose commissions, commands or procurement, and in whose behalfe and for whose interest only (of will and power) all our warres and troubles have been (with all the miseries attending them), may

be speedily brought to justice for the treason, blood and mischiefe, he is therein guilty of."

"That for further satisfaction of publique justice, Capitall punishment may be speedily executed upon a competent number of his chiefe instruments also, both in the former and latter Warre, and (for that purpose) that some such, of both sorts, may be pitcht upon to be made examples of justice in that kind, as are really in your hands or reach, so as their exception from pardon, may not be a mockery of justice in the face of God and men." †

Here then, in the old Hertfordshire fane, under the roof covering the ashes of the first martyr, is forged the first visible nail for the coffin of a King who was to be held up by many of his subjects as a martyr, and also of the coffin of the first of Hertfordshire Royalists, Lord Capel. With this large Remonstrance Fairfax addresses a letter to the Speaker stating that the Remonstrance was unanimously agreed to at the General Council of Officers, and that "it is herewith sent by the hands of Col. Ewer and other officers."

The next day Col. Ewer and the other officers ride out of St. Albans down the old soldiers' way of Holywell Hill towards London to convey the Remonstrance to Parliament. There have been much more imposing cavalcades along the same road any time these six or seven years, with the burden of a hard-pressed county on their shoulders. But this procession is carrying to Parliament for its serious consideration the most momentous instrument of the War—a document the central idea of which is that there can be no peace or settlement of the country so long as King Charles remains upon the scene. That is the sum and substance of it all!

Cromwell has been made aware of its contents, and, writing from Knottingley to Fairfax at St. Albans, he uses this, for him, significant sentence:—"I find in the Officers of the Regiments a very great sense of the sufferings of this poor kingdom; and in them all a very great zeal to have impartial justice done upon Offenders." He adds that he does with all his heart concur with them.

On Monday, November 20th, while Cromwell is penning that letter, the Committee of Chief Officers at St. Albans, Colonel Ewer and others, having arrived and presented Fairfax's letter on the Saturday, are at the Bar of the House at Westminster to present from the Army "its humble unanimous remonstrance, and praying that it may be taken into speedy and serious consideration."

"The House being informed that some officers of the Army from the General were at the door with the said Remonstrance, they were called in, and Col. Ewer informed the House that 'the Lord General and General Council of Officers of the Army have commanded me and these gentlemen to present this Remonstrance to this honourable House and desire you to take it into speedy consideration.'" [*Commons' Journals.*]

Parliament is once more thrown into a wholesome dread of this Army at St. Albans and of what may happen. The debate on the Remonstrance is adjourned for a week, and at the end of that time the Army marches out of St. Albans for Windsor, and resorts to its old chess-board arguments which had so alarmed the city in the previous year. Col. Ewer is sent forward to the Isle of Wight to bring away the King, and Parliament reluctantly takes up that Remonstrance again and decides by a majority of ninety that it will not take the Army's Remonstrance into consideration! The Army sends a letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, who rush to the House in great alarm with the letter in their hands. The House, in despair, orders the old ultimate remedy of £40,000 arrears of pay. But it is too late, the Army is on the march, and arrives in London next morning, December 2nd, on the stern business of getting rid of that majority of ninety members! The House debates all night the smooth-phrased thesis whether the concessions of the King in the Isle of Wight shall be a basis of treaty with Parliament, and at five o'clock next morning says "yea" by a majority of fifty-six. The issue begun at St. Albans a fortnight ago is now to close the year in darkest tragedy!

THE "MURTHERING OF THE KING."—HERTFORDSHIRE REGRETS AND REPROACHES.—SANGUINARY FIGHT IN ROYSTON MARKET PLACE!

> Are these the fruits o' th' Protestation,
> The prototype of reformation
> Which all the saints, and some since martyrs,
> Wore in their hats like wedding garters?

The Army on arriving in London takes the division list of the House of Commons into its

† A Remonstrance of his Excellency, Thomas Lord Fairfax, and of the Generall Counsell of Officers, held at St. Albans the 16th of November, 1648.

own hands. Around the House are the regiments of our old friends, Col. Riche (Horse), and Col. Pride (Foot) of Corkbushfield, and the process of getting rid of that majority of forty-six is to become known to history as the "Pride's Purge" incident of the Long Parliament—an old dodge for bringing down the votes to a desired level which has already been frequently rehearsed on a small scale in the provinces, at the Cambridge Colleges and elsewhere, when a Royalist was likely to command a majority. Among the excluded members taken care of, or turned back, till the division list reaches manageable dimensions is Sir Harbottle Grimston, who learned his law for the love of a maiden, and is now among those clamouring to know by what law this thing is being done, to which Hugh Peters, the famous Army chaplain, answers curtly, but truthfully enough, "by the power of the sword!" Another more direct representative of Hertfordshire was also amongst the excluded members. Sir Thomas Dacres, member for Hertfordshire, gives this account of his own experience in the affair of "Pride's Purge." Writing to the Speaker for himself and another member he says:

"When we, this morning, came to give our attendance to the House we were both turned back upon the stairs, and the Sergeant's man that stood by informed the officer that our names were both in the list he held in his hand, and he had order from the General not to suffer us to enter into the House to do our duties there till the Remonstrance had received the sense of the House. We still pressed to do our duties but were kept back by force. This we thought good to certify you desiring you to acquaint the House thereof." [Letter in Cary *Memorials*.]

Sir Samuel Luke, member for Bedford, and the original *Sir Hudibras* in Butler's satirical poem of that name, and Francis Russell, member for Cambridgeshire, were also among the excluded members. As for the House of Lords, its attendance was so small—only about half-a-dozen—that the Royalist writers have satirically represented the four who were present on Dec. 19th, of whom the Earl of Salisbury was one, as coming to Fairfax, "casting down their honours at his Excellency's feet and protesting that their desire is not to maintain the peerage or any other privilege whatsoever that could be conceived to be prejudicial to the public interest, and that the soldiers jeered at the four noble lords for their pains"! The attitude of the Lords a few days later against the trial of the King, however, makes it necessary to accept this *cum grano*.

In the severe winter of 1648–9, in which, by the way, the Thames was frozen over, when the drama of the Civil War culminated at Whitehall, the stirring events connected with the King's trial and execution belong so much to general history that it is only necessary here to say that again Hertfordshire is not without its representative actors. There, for instance, in Westminster Hall, as the trial of the King proceeds, is a military figure in scarlet full-dress uniform, carrying a gold-headed cane, displaying an ardent zeal for the "good old cause," as he walks up and down, cutting a very conspicuous figure before the great crowd of people. That man is Colonel Axtell, who is now in charge of the Guards in Westminster Hall. Looking down, so to speak, with sinister omen from the front of the Hall, in which Axtell is walking and the other extreme men are acting with no small degree of satisfaction and triumph at the course things are taking in regard to the King, are the heads of Catesby and Percy, the conspirators in the late well-remembered Gunpowder Plot, and though it would be unfair to those who were bringing the King to trial to compare them, yet suggesting, perhaps, to those who could see far enough, the comment "whose turn next?"

But the zealous young Colonel, the quondam Berkhamsted boy, who is even now barely 27 years of age, goes on with the business in hand, regardless of the inevitable law of re-action now to be set in motion, and heeds them not, nor does anyone else. Yet this England of the Stuarts, in which a Stuart is wrestling for his throne and his life, is full of strange currents in human affairs—it may be for Axtell as well as for others—but the ardent young soldier, with his gold-headed cane and scarlet uniform, does not flinch but rather glories in the authority reposed in him. Of his more particular deeds and his ultimate reward we shall learn more anon.

Hugh Peters, too, whom we shall meet in Hertfordshire again, though the King did not want to hear him preach at Newmarket, had the grim satisfaction of preaching before the Regicides on that dismal Sunday when the warrant for the King's execution was awaiting a few more signatures, and the desperate courage to add them a little more stimulus.

"For the people truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever. It is not their having a share in the Government; that is nothing appertaining unto them. A subject

and a Sovereign are clean different things." [King Charles' speech on the scaffold at Whitehall.]

So, clinging to the fatal notion of divine right to the last, the King loses his head for his Kingcraft, but gains the hearts of his people by his bearing as a man when the supreme crisis comes! Of more interest than the never-ending modern debates over that abstract question of whether the execution of Charles I. was justifiable or not, is the contemporary evidence of whether it was popular or not at the time, and especially in such a county as Hertford, where the cause of Parliament against the King had been unquestionably the predominant cause all through the strife.

The publication, after the King's death, of the *Eikon Basilike* (printed by Richard Royston, and at the time attributed to the King's own hand instead of to Dr. Gauden, the author) had, by its "portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his solitudes and suffering," and its immense circulation, † created a profound impression and a feeling of wide-spread sympathy towards the "Martyr King" which even Milton's powerfully written *Iconoclast* was hardly sufficient to counteract; and this may very well have helped to turn the tide of feeling in Hertfordshire as in other counties. When Lord Capel, a prisoner of war, suffered a like fate with that of the King, many Hertfordshire people could hardly stand the strain upon their allegiance to what had been so long the popular cause in the county without murmurs. Indeed, so great was the revulsion of feeling over the execution of the King that John Geree, who had been minister of St. Albans Abbey Church, who wrote various controversial works dated from "my study at St. Albans," and condemned the Royalist custom of health-drinking as one deserving of "whips rather than words"—even "Mr. Geree died at the news of the King's death" says Baxter.

Many others in Hertfordshire, who were still thoroughly sound on the cause for which Parliament originally took up arms, while unable to appreciate or suggest an alternative to the desperate plea of the Independents—that no settled government or peace was possible so long as the King remained—were deeply affected by the tragic event, and never reconciled to its "cruel necessity." Thus, within a few short months a county which had under great pressure, and at great and peculiar sacrifices, been a consistent supporter of Parliament, had become full of bitter reproaches over the "Murthering of the King," and occasionally the sentiment took a dangerous form.

A characteristic instance of resentment of the execution of the King was afforded when in the spring of 1649 some of the townsmen of Berkhamsted, who had dared to express their opinions strongly, were brought up for examination before the Bailiff and Chief Burgesses of that town by an order from the Council of State.

"Jeremy Whelply upon oath saith that Nathan Paine, having a spiritt of malice declared at a wedding about the 24th of May, that it grieved him he had ever entered into the service of the Parliament, and that their proceeding against the late King was the most horrid murder that ever any history made mencon of—that it was a plot worse than the gunpowder treason, and that there was no difference, but that one was underground and the other above; and again, that the Parliament was not in the right way and if hee had thought the Parliament would have gone on in that way hee would never have drawen his sword for them, and would never drawe it againe for them going in that way." †

What became of Nathan Paine at the hands of his fellow townsmen—forced to proceed by the Council of State against a substantial citizen and churchwarden for tempering his festive mirth at a wedding by reproaches and regrets—the State Papers afford this further clue.

Nathan Paine was not alone in the business; for, associated with him were Thomas Aldrich and Nath Partridge; and, the Bailiff and Burgesses having failed to satisfy the Council of State of their proceedings, the Council, on 6th September of the same year, put the matter into the hands of Sir John Wittewrong (of Rothamsted), Mr. Alban Cox, and Dr. King, to examine the whole matter. After this, further trace disappears. The point of interest is that Nath Paine, who had been on one of the County Committees, and his colleagues, some of whom had served the county as Committee-men, afforded a fair type of the substantial middle class Hertfordshire men who left their shops and maltings, drew their swords for Parliament, kept their county clear of the enemy, and thus helped to secure the Metropolis and the Houses of Parlia-

† The book "had the greatest run, in many impressions, that any book has had in our age."—Burnet's *History of his own Times.*

† Cobb's *History of Berkhamsted*, p. 46.

ment. They had stood up stoutly for the original programme of the liberties of the people, the Protestant religion, and the privileges of Parliament, but, at the same time, had little part in that extreme policy which had cut off the head of the King and the head of a distinguished Hertfordshire man—Royalist though he was—and now seemed likely to land the county in a spirit of sectarianism as objectionable as that against which it had so effectually protested.

Another notable instance of the divided feeling of the time was afforded at St. Albans, and again it was directed against the spirited Royalist and unpopular Justice of the Peace, Dr. King, around whose house and upon whose person a riotous attack was made. Here is the version as recorded in the State Papers for 1649.

On June 15, 1649, the Council of State wrote to the Mayor and Justices of the Peace for St. Albans to this effect :—"There was lately a riot in your town upon the house and person of Dr. King, Justice of the Peace, and while he was in the execution of that office, which if it should pass without prosecution would be a great scandal to the Government, and an encouragement to disaffected persons to stir up distempers among the people. Let the parties offending be had in examination, and information taken against them upon oath, that they may be proceeded against next Quarter Sessions."

The result of this was that Thomas Dalton, William Hensman, Ralph Polland, junr., John Cooper, junr., Edw. Thomas, Thos. Redding, and Andrew Whelpley were apprehended by Sergeant Dendy, the Sergt. at Arms, and committed for trial at the Midsummer Quarter Sessions, when they were tried upon an indictment for miscarriage against Dr. King and for endeavouring to incite Major Pinchon's soldiers to mutiny. The jury, however, remembering, no doubt, Dr. King's harsh treatment of Col. Alban Cox's soldiers, "would not find a bill, notwithstanding the full and express evidence for it."

The Council of State thereupon placed the matter in the hands of the Attorney General to put an information "into the Upper Bench next term, to take his instructions from Dr. King and to take care that the business be proceeded in effectually."

Whether anything further came of the matter I know not, but there is abundant evidence of disorderly proceedings provoked by strong language about the King, such as Dr. King may have used, and from the irregular footing on which the soldiers then were, apparently through officers having tired of their commission. To these causes was due rioting at Walthamstow, and at St. Neots where a troop of soldiers was actually left without any officer over them, and gave the town no end of trouble !

But by far the most remarkable occurrence of this kind happened, curiously enough, in a Hertfordshire town which had been so thoroughly Puritan and Parliamentarian that it could furnish very few Royalists ; I mean the old town of Royston, where an attack upon Parliamentary soldiers in "revenge for the bloud of the late King" occurred in the summer of 1649. The contemporary record of this incident is well worth reproducing if only for the fact that it is a perfect type of the old news-letter of the time when "Perfect Diurnals," "Exact Relations," "True Accounts," sent off by some enterprising individual on the spot, performed the part of the more favoured war correspondent of a later age. I give, in a note below, the full title,† with the exception of a passage repeated in the letter itself, and the letter, which is dated from Royston apparently from an eye witness, I here give verbatim, but in modern spelling :—

"SIR,—The Royalists in these parts begin to kick at Authority, and say they will neither yield obedience nor be subject to the present Authority at Westminster, but take upon themselves the impudence to revile and speak very high against their present actions and proceedings to the great dishonour and predjudice thereof, leaving no means unassayed that may prove instrumental to alienate and withdraw the hearts of the people from their true obedience ; as appears by their late insurrections and commotions within the town of Royston ; the manner thus :—

"A party of Commissary-General Ireton's Regiment of Foot, quartered in the adjacent village, many of the officers and soldiers came to the foresaid town to receive recruits and beat up the drum for more Volunteers. The inhabitants, being somewhat troubled thereat, resolved to make opposition, and immediately gathered to a

† "*A Bloudy Fight in Hertfordshire between the Parliament's Forces and the Club Royalists, on Tuesday last, showing the manner of their engagement and how the adverse party fell upon the Parliamenteers to revenge the bloud of the late King * * and a narrative of the barbarous actions that were then put in execution. * * * London, printed for R. W., Anno* 1649." [King's Pamphlets, E. 565 (73), British Museum.]

head, which being done, about 150 marched to the Market Place, fell upon the Parliamentary party, cut and mangled them exceedingly, laid many for dead upon the place, broke their halberts, arms and drums, wounded Captain Steward, the commander-in-chief, Lieut. Smith, and some others ; and in a most barbarous and inhumane manner slit their fingers, the palms of their hands, cut their wrists and wounded them even from the crown of the head (almost) to the sole of the foot, calling them rebels and traitors for murthering of their King, and saying *that they would make rogues of them before they had done with 'em.*

"The conflict being ended, these blood-thirsty villains departed, leaving some gallant spirits gasping on the ground, and their inveteracy was so great that if they did but see any of them stir, presently they made at them again with clubs and other weapons vowing to leave not a man of them alive.

"But it pleased divine providence so to work for their deliverance that upon an alarm that a party were coming to rescue them, the blood-thirsty Maligoes began to fly, some betaking themselves one way and some another, so that the well affected of the town hastened to them and carried them out of the street to the George Inn, † where they immediately sent for a chyrurgion [a surgeon] to stanch the bleeding of their wounds, and to dress their bruised sores, which was speedily effectuated, and all soveraine means used for their recovery, so that (blessed be God) the Captain and the rest are in a reasonable condition, and it is hoped they have undergone the greatest misery of their present affliction.

"Most of the chief confederates of this horrid act escaped and fled, but it is hoped by diligent inquisition after them they may be taken and brought back to taste of the true administration of justice, and made exemplary for the future to all succeeding ages.

"Royston, 18 July, 1649."

The reader will, perhaps, make some allowance for the spirit and for the epithets in this old newsletter—written, by the way, in that good sterling English such as John Bunyan wrote—and also for the old Puritan habit of straining a Scriptural quotation, about the crown of the head and the sole of the foot, almost to the breaking point. But the facts which remain have a peculiar interest in the light of the previous fifty years' history of this old country home of the Stuart Kings where the incident occurred. The inhabitants of Royston had, for instance, once had the temerity to give a very plain hint to the British Solomon, King James I, that they preferred his Majesty's room to his company, and that if his Majesty did not go back to London the country would be undone, for all their provisions were spent, and they were not able to entertain him longer ! But though Royston went solid for Parliament and Puritanism against Stuart King-craft, King Charles was more popular personally with those of his subjects whom he came in contact with by local residence or otherwise than his Royal father, James I. The year's rent for the Royston Priory House, hired by King James at the commencement of his reign, while his own house at Royston was made ready for him, for instance, never got paid until more than twenty years after, when Charles came to the Throne and set about paying his Royal father's debts, and it is quite possible that some of the old Royston tradesmen's accounts may have got settled in the same way when Charles came to the throne. When, therefore, the issue over which the country had been struggling for so long became overshadowed by the tragedy of cutting off the King's head, this personal element in which Charles came out better as a man than he had done as a King probably had its effect in bringing about, in one of the most unlikely quarters, that revulsion of feeling which resulted in the ill-treatment of Ireton's recruiting soldiers under the circumstances described by the old news-letter I have quoted.

† This old Inn stood at the west end of George Lane, next the middle of the High Street, and its old sign hung so far across the High Street that in the last century it fell, and killed a wagoner who was travelling up the road for London.

TAKING DOWN THE KING'S ARMS.—HERTFORDSHIRE AND THE "GOOD OLD CAUSE."—ROYALIST AFFRAY AT SAWBRIDGEWORTH.

Into the sombre grey of the Commonwealth, sturdy in its strength, but relieved by fewer bits of local colour than had characterised the stormy period of the previous ten years, there is little need to enter in any great detail. While, however, Cromwell is wrestling with the attempt of the Scots to place Charles II. upon the throne ; while, in Parliamentary phrase, the son of "the

late man," Charles Stuart, is hiding in the Royal Oak in Worcestershire, and escaping as an exile beyond the seas until such time as the star of Royalty is once more in the ascendant, it may be necessary to give a brief account of the chief incidents of the Commonwealth, and the more stirring reaction of 1660, as they presented themselves to the Hertfordshire people. Whatever may have been the extent of the revulsion of feeling over the execution of the King, and the hard fate of a distinguished county man in Lord Capel—of whose eventful life and fortitude in the face of death something will be said presently—this feeling seems in the course of time to have passed away, and the inhabitants of the county settled down to, at least, an outward unanimity in accepting the new order of things, with here and there a revival sufficient to show that the fires of party strife were still smouldering.

In September, 1649, the burgesses of St. Albans elected as their mayor once more William Newe, whom we have seen at the bar of the House and in the Tower for issuing the King's proclamation. Whether the burgesses themselves had been moved to this act by the execution of the King, or whether William Newe yielded to the circumstances of the times, is not recorded. From what followed, however, we may infer that it was Mr. Newe who had yielded.

As for Dr. King, another St. Albans Royalist, who has figured in these pages, he appears to have thrown up public life in disgust. Both in 1648 and 1649 he had been one of the two persons nominated for the office of Mayor of St. Albans, and though in the latter year his name was first, William Newe was preferred, and Dr. King surrendered his place as principal Burgess.†

After the execution of the King there had gone forth into every town of Hertfordshire, as of other counties, a proclamation that "whosoever shall proclaim a new King, Charles Second or another, without authority of Parliament in this nation of England, shall be a traitor and suffer death."

Parliament further ordered "the taking down of the arms of the late King and setting up the arms of the Commonwealth in their place," the charge for which was to be paid out of the parish rate. In some cases this was not very readily complied with, and pressure was brought to bear upon its accomplishment. In 1650 the Corporation of Hertford makes an order to "take down the arms and picture of the late King from the Churches, Halls, and other public places, and destroy the same, and the State arms to be put up in the Town Hall before 25th March, where the late King's arms were."

At St. Albans the work of taking down the King's arms is referred to in the accounts for the same year thus :—"Paid to James Campion for taking down the King's arms in the glass window of the Town Hall, and setting up other glass in the place of it."†

One of the first events of a military kind in the county under the new *régime* was the marching of General Fleetwood's army from the Eastern Counties towards Oxford, when Charles II with one foot upon the throne, by virtue of the action of the Scots, was marching southwards towards the decisive battle of Worcester, and the shelter of the Royal Oak which saved him from falling a prisoner to Cromwell.

On the 21st of August, 1651, it is recorded in the State papers that "our [the Council of State] messenger found the regiment from Col. Wauton a little on this side Newmarket on Thursday morning, and they showed great cheerfulness and alacrity to march against the enemy, and had resolved to be at Royston that night and so march on with expedition." The regiment met shortly afterwards at the old rendezvous at St. Albans. As the reader is aware, the battle of Worcester, the defeat of Charles II by Cromwell, the hiding of the former in the Royal Oak, and his flight to Normandy, occurred shortly after this, and among the prisoners was at least one Hertfordshire man of note whose romantic adventures, and those of his lady during the Wars, will be recorded presently.

Henceforth, until after the death of Cromwell

† Dr. King, evidently a clever man, was the father of Sir John King, a celebrated advocate, who afterwards became Solicitor-General to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. His services as an advocate were in so much demand that he worked himself to death, at the early age of 39, when, in the year 1677, after having pleaded four days in succession when suffering from the effects of a fever, he took to his bed and ordered his clerk to return to every one of his clients "his breviat and his fee," for "he could serve them no longer, and had done with this world."

† The Town Hall was the old Moot Hall at the end of Dagnall-street, now Messrs. Gibbs and Bamforth's printing and publishing offices.

when the insurrections of Royalists again burst forth in the County of Hertford, there are but few striking landmarks of a local character to mark the general course of events. The Royalism of Hertfordshire was nothing without its leaders, and these are lost sight of. Coningsby of North Mimms, the fiery High Sheriff who cut such a hasty figure in St. Albans Market, after many weary years confinement in the Tower, is dead; Capel has paid the penalty of his deeds, with the fortitude of a Roman; and the Fanshawes and the Harrisons are out of the country, and others have passively acquiesced in their fines, and compoundings for the recovery of their estates from sequestration.

At St. Albans the proclamation of the Lord Protector was accompanied by ringing of the bells, the ringers getting five shillings for their trouble, and eight shillings of public money was spent in sack which the gentlemen drank at the Market Cross. At Hertford, and in a similar way things went on in all other towns and parishes in the county, the old accounts show that the ringers spent certain sums upon the proclamation of the Lord Protector. All the ordinary aspects and functions of civil life were resumed—the cucking stool, the pillory, the stocks, and the town turnpikes got mended where they had been demolished; scolds and brawlers received the attention of Dogberry, whose baton once more was supreme. Trade resumed its wonted channels, and even Baldock held its market again by warrant of Council of State.

But the elements of strife are not dead and occasionally break through the duller surface of county life under the Commonwealth. In January, 1653, there was, for instance, a matter before the House of Commons, upon a report of the examination of one William Abell, Esq., late Alderman of London, concerning some dangerous words against the public peace lately spoken in Northall Woods, in the county of Hertford, and that the said William Abell, of Hatfield, was charged as being one of the persons suspected of having spoken the said words. It further appeared that William Abell was a prisoner for debt under a bond to Mr. Speaker Lenthall, and that two of his own sons were in Lenthall's service, and were among those who had the privilege of waiting upon and guarding the ex-Alderman. In fact, the whole batch of Sir William Lenthall's servants having access to and guarding Abell were more or less connected with him and interested in letting him off into the country for a breathing space. The Council of State, "being sensible of the inconveniences and scandals arising by granting such undue liberties," &c., &c., proceeds to recommend the case to the Upper Bench, and failing that Authority, then to Parliament. How the defaulting Mr. Abell, of Hatfield came off I know not, but in the later years of Cromwell's life, † while his vigorous policy had been establishing the fame and power of England on the seas, and had conferred upon every Briton abroad the proud ægis of the old Roman boast of *Civis Romanus sum*, there had been a good deal of plotting and counter-plotting at home, which only waited a favourable opportunity to develop into open hostility to the idea of ruling England without a King.

The stormy career of "Old Noll," as his Highness, the Lord Protector, was disrespectfully called by his enemies, had culminated in a position which was anything but a bed of roses, and one of its thorns came from a Hertfordshire man whose pamphlet ‡ is said to have affected Cromwell to such apprehension for his own safety that he afterwards did not sleep twice in the same bed. On the 3rd Sept., 1658, the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, the troubled spirit passed away amidst a memorable storm of wind. §

When the firm grip of the Protector had become relaxed in the hands of his feeble successor, Cromwell's son Richard, it was not surprising that the Royalist spirit should burst out anew. But though the man was gone, the cause to some extent remained, and to that cause some of the inhabitants of Hertfordshire are ready to set their hand and seal. On 13th May, 1659, twelve months before another revolution, the House of Commons had just been listening to a petition from officers of the Army, and Mr.

† Cromwell had his hands too full of stirring work farther away to be very much in Hertfordshire, except upon those memorable occasions already referred to when national affairs were concentrated in the county, but besides occasional visits to his friend, Alban Cox, he sometimes passed through the county, and on one of his marches through Watford he slept, according to tradition, in the room of a house in Church-street, kept for many years as a sweetmeat shop by Mr. Wheeler.

‡ *Killing no Murder*, attributed to Col. Silas Titus, of Bushey.

§ "September 3. The greatest storm of wind that had ever been known for some hours before and after Cromwell's death. The effects of it were terrible."—*Old Book.*—Boyle also says: "It is remarkable that on the day of Cromwell's decease the greatest tempest of wind ever witnessed took place."

Speaker had just informed the petitioners of the "things of great weight" contained in their petition, and given them thanks, "very hearty thanks for their love and affection," when,

"The House, being informed that there were several Hertfordshire gentlemen attending the Parliament at the door; they were called in, whereupon Mr. Barber, doctor of physick, and divers others of the said county, came to the Bar, and the said Mr. Barber expressed himself thus:—

"Mr. Speaker, many of the county of Hertford have had it in their thoughts to debate something of the particular grievances, but hearing of the power and wisdom of God in giving opportunity for this honourable House to re-assemble, they laid aside the thoughts of their grievances, and thought of their duty to present their humble petition to your honours, which is a freewill offering of above a thousand, who with hands and hearts desire what in them lieth to encourage this ever-honoured Parliament to proceed in settling the Commonwealth, without a single Person, Kingship or House of Peers." And so they presented their petition entitled "the humble petition of divers inhabitants of the county of Hertford, who have faithfully adhered to the good old cause."

The petitioners were informed by Mr. Speaker that—

"The House hath read your petition, and do find in it expressions of very good affection. They have commanded me to tell you that upon the foundation upon which they now stand, for which they bless God that hath brought them hither; they do intend to go on if it please God to set the top stone as formerly they have laid the foundation; and to you that have expressed your good affection, they have commanded me to tell you that they do give you hearty thanks for your expression thereof."

Another band of horsemen came up from Aylesbury on the same errand shortly after, and received a similar grandiloquent return for their pains. Even Sir Henry Blount, in his quiet home at Ridge, near Barnet, the reputed Socrates of the age, has his philosophical spirit stirred by the distractions of these unhappy times, and in June he, too, sets out at the head of a cavalcade for Westminster, and makes visible appearance at the Bar of the House, and for the cordial affection to Government which the petition expresses,

Mr. Speaker again announces that the House has found in the petition many good expressions, and "they believe many good intentions." Next day a party of gentlemen from Bedfordshire were at the door of the House, with a petition in which the House finds "much sobriety and temperance," and similar petitions came in from other counties.

But beneath all this petitioning, and partly as a reason for it, things are not quite satisfactory with this government "without a single person, Kingship or House of Peers." The Commonwealth is getting into a moribund condition, and the Royalists, and a good many others in the county of Hertford, know it. One incident of local interest peeps out of the dull mass of lava which remains sputtering here and there from the late volcanic disturbances. Sir Thomas Fanshawe, of Ware Park, and Catherine, his wife, have sought to arraign Ralph Darnall, Clerk of the Parliaments, for trial at the Hertford Summer Assizes (1659), but privilege is pleaded, and the House puts its veto on the proceeding. Then there came symptoms from this same eastern side of Hertfordshire that sundry individuals of note who have in the past wars been entrusted with the Parliamentary cause are contriving desperate courses. The air is again becoming electric with plots, and men buckle on their swords, for by August news comes of the rising in Cheshire; that Charles Stuart has been proclaimed in the market town of Wrexham, under the name of Charles the Second. Further yearning for a King seems to be getting abroad, and the old Cavaliers are stimulating the sentiment by falling "to their wonted profane courses of drinking healths openly to Charles Stuart upon bare knees." The instigators of this movement in the North-west having been proclaimed traitors, an order goes forth into every county to the Commissioners of the Militia to enquire what gentlemen, ministers, and others have absented themselves from their houses in this time of danger, and where they have been, and to make return of the same to the Council of State. †

Each of the Commissioners of the Militia of the county had to take an engagement to "re-

† Even the parish constables were stimulated once more into active life, as appears by the following directions issued by the Corporation of Hertford:—"Because of present troubles a strict watch to be kept by night, and every night with a constable, and every daie till further order, and everyone is to watch or to find a fit person to do it, and the constable is to take care that there is no cessation between watch and watch."

nounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart and the whole line of the late King James, and of every other person as a Single Person pretending to the government of these nations," etc., and further to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth. The names of the following were upon the Commission for the Militia for Hertfordshire: —Erasmus Harby, Richard Taverner, John Clynton, *alias* Fiennes, Edward Field, George Poyner, James Wilmott (Kelshall), Stephen Soames, and Ralph Darnall, Thomas Nicholls (of Watford), Col. Marsh, Capt. William Disher, William Gold (his lieutenant), Edward Brayford (his cornet), and Joseph Abrathwaite (his quartermaster).

There was need for the precautions, for before the Herts Commissioners have made their return of doubtful persons, an active insurrection is in the making on the East side of the county. about Sawbridgeworth, where Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, of Shengy Hall, is getting a body of men round him who will not only go down on bare-knee to drink to Charles Stuart, but would have exercised a little pressure upon their neighbours to do the same, but for the sudden appearance of a Parliamentary troop upon the scene! The sequel is told in the following document from the Council of State under date 9th Aug., 1659:—

"President Whitelock, to the Militia, of co. Herts. In this time of great danger from the enemy the Council finds it necessary to order you to empower the officers of troops and Militia in your neighbourhood to seize all who have been in arms against Parliament, and all who foment the present insurrection; secure their horses and arms and report."

Away go Col. Berry's troops to Shengy Hall to the terror of Sawbridgeworthians! They secure horses and arms, and report; or rather one Noel Butler, of Hertford, an officer engaged in the fray, as may be supposed from a previous mention of that name among officers, makes report. The letter from Noel Butler reaches the House on August 19th, and is to the following effect:—

"Information that the officers of Col. Berry's troop, notwithstanding that the enemy had a rendezvous at Sir Thomas Lenthorpe's, co Herts, repaired thither, and finding him and the rest fled, seized 40 cases of new pistols and 8 carbines, many new saddles and bridles, and 12 horses. Ordered that the pistols be disposed of to the commissioned officers of the troop, and 12 horses to the troopers as Col. Berry thinks fit, and that the rest be delivered to the Ordnance officers at the Tower, to be disposed of as the Council shall direct." [*State Papers.*]

There was, however, more than this raid on Shengy Hall, and after some skirmishing with the Royalists more prisoners were taken, and it was ordered that "the Sergeant-at-Arms to receive into custody the prisoners now brought from co. Herts by Col. Berry's troop and the Committee for examinations to examine them." The House upon the receipt of this information out of Hertfordshire makes proclamation against Sir Thomas Fanshawe, Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, and the then Earl of Holland sends it down into Hertfordshire, and the two Hertfordshire Royalists find themselves again in the hands of the County Sequestration Committee.

On October 10th the Herts Commissioners write to the Committee in London giving particulars of the secret meetings of the late insurrection at the house of one George Mason, a very great Cavalier through the wars, now under bail, and further that a gentleman, believed to be Col. Massey, was at his house a week secretly, further that one Taylor, who was to have been captain of a troop of horse if the affair had come off, had offered a horse and arms and £5 to men to join him, and bought many horses for the service, and knew many who were tributory to it, as John Skipwith, Capt. Christmas, and Marmaduke Rawdon (of Hoddesdon), and others, who listed for soldiers or were helpers. Taylor and Skipwith were in custody and could, if they would, discover all the business.

Thus ends in Hertfordshire the last reflection of the spirit of the two Royalists, Capel and Coningsby, who worked so valiantly for the King at the beginning of the War. As for the sequestrated and those who have suffered in person, family, or estate on behalf of the late King and his exiled son, their night is now far spent, and already men are looking away to the English Channel longing for the morning, and for the sun of English monarchy to rise once more.

But another scene of more than passing interest awaits some of the Hertfordshire folk before the great outburst of loyalty to the Kingship. The dissensions between Army and Parliament have resulted in Lambert's expulsion of the members (in October, 1659), and General Monk sets out on his march from Scotland nominally to restore the members of Parliament, an errand capable of indefinite expansion. When by January (1660) the Army, under Monk, nearly

6,000 strong, approaches Hertfordshire, affairs have drifted still further into chaos, and his march to London seems the only thing of which men are certain, but what is to be the meaning of that march no one knows! Like the march of the Earl of Essex and his Army to meet the King and his Army at the beginning of the war, all eyes are fixed upon this march. There was also some kind of parallel between the two men —Essex determined, yet moody and depressed by the weight of his responsibility, and only his favourite pipe to console him; Monk, also a dark-featured, silent man, marching on with mysterious, undeclared purpose, "chewing his tobacco in silence," towards that old trysting-place at St. Albans around which the interest of great coming events is once more to gather.

GENERAL MONK AND HIS ARMY AT ST. ALBANS.—HIS MAJESTY'S "HAPPY RESTAURATION"!

And haughtily the trumpets peal, and gaily dance the bells,
As slow upon the labouring wind the royal blazon swells!
Macaulay.

It was a fitting close to the many scenes which had centred around St. Albans when the people were there gathered together for business, that General Monk and his Army — marching to London ostensibly to restore the Parliament excluded by Lambert, but really with the balance of events affecting the King on his hands—arrived at St. Albans on market day; there to remain for a few days. The event was, upon its civil, political, and ecclesiastical side, one of considerable interest as a piece of local as well as general history. Leaving his last halting-place at Dunstable, General Monk and his Army pass through Redbourn, and while the St. Albans market people are buying and selling, the Army enters the town, and about the same time—about twelve o'clock in the day, on January 28th, 1660, —Monk arrives in his coach amidst the warmest demonstrations of welcome.

Ding-dong, ding-dong, go the bells of old St. Peter's Church † as it looks down upon another historic scene! The other Churches take up the tale, and the excitement spreads among towns-people and market people alike. For there is a vague idea that great issues are impending upon the march of General Monk cityward, the nation being as Evelyn says in "most prodigious confusion, and under no government, everybody expecting what would be next and what he [Monk] would do."

Here at St. Albans, within easy reach of the City, Monk and his Army made a stay of five days, and it was a busy time, with the keenest competition between all parties seeking to get the ear and obtain the influence of the one man to whom everybody seemed looking with the most diverse anticipations, amidst the confusions of the hour. The General is besieged with petitioning parties—from Beds, Bucks, and Herts—intent upon getting the secluded members to Parliament; and all are watching to see which way the wind is blowing. None are more intent upon turning the present time and opportunity to account than the Parliamentary Commissioners or "Spies," bearing the familiar names of Scott and Robinson, who, accompanying Monk on his march, had arrived by coach at St. Albans at the same time as the General, and dogged his every movement with the most persistent watchfulness and jealousy. Having quartered his soldiers in the town † the General settles down to the numerous calls upon him. As the various petitioners and delegates come to the General with their petitions, the dark, silent man listens to them without a word, and only a "nod or a frown"; or if the delegates' speeches were long, they were received with "the rubbing of his forehead."

Dr. Price, one of Monk's chaplains, in his work, *The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's Happy Restauration, laid open to publick view*, gives the following particulars of what happened at St. Albans, not forgetting the Parliamentary watch-dogs Scott and Robinson. "At St. Albans, besides the addresses made by the gentry upon the publick ground, the General was busied in receiving numerous visits, both which were distasted by our honourable spies (Scott and Robinson), who sometimes in civility or for despatch of their own business would withdraw. But their apartment was only distinguished

† "To the ringers when General Monk came to the town ... . 4 0"
St. Peter's Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Albans, 1659-60.

† "Paid to Jeremy Latimer for two loads of straw for the soldiers to lie in when the Lord General Monke's soldiers were quartered in this Borough ... ... 13 4"
St. Albans Mayor's Accounts, 1659-60.

from the General's by a wainscot door, in which they either found or made a hole to hear and see."

Dr. Skinner [*Life of Monk*] says that all the way from Leicester to St. Albans, Scott and Robinson took up their quarters in the same house with the General, and "when they withdrew to their own apartment they always found or made some hole in the door or wall to look in or listen (which they had practised so palpably that the General found it out and took notice of it to those about him, reflecting on their baseness and suspicions) that they might more nearly inspect his actions and observe what persons came to him, and also be in readiness to answer the addresses and russle with those that brought them." But the knights and freeholders who came to petition General Monk at St. Albans in favour of restoring the Excluded Members, did not at all like this interference of the Commissioners; and here (at St. Albans) says Skinner "they were so plainly and severely reprimanded by those gentlemen that came, that Scott in a great passion replied that though his age might excuse him taking up arms, yet as old as he was (before this present Parliament should be entangled by restoring the Excluded Members or by new elections) he would gird on his sword again and keep the door against them."

But amidst all the confusions of the hour, it would have been strange if the ecclesiastical side of affairs, and the habitual fast day, had been neglected, and so Mr. Richard Lee, rector of Hatfield, comes over to St. Albans for the occasion to help out Mr. Hugh Peters, "the Prince of Army Chaplains," who is still to the fore, and is prepared to hold forth worthily in the Abbey pulpit—an opportunity too good to be lost. Of this part of the proceedings at St. Albans Dr. Price gives the following particulars :—

"But here we spent one day extraordinary at the Church [the Abbey], the famous Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Lee, of Hatfield, and another carrying on the work of the day, which was a fast day. Peters supererogated, and prayed a long prayer in the General's quarters, too, at night. As for his sermon, he managed it with some dexterity at the first, allowing for the cantings of his expressions. His text was Psalm 107, v 7, '*He led them forth by the right way that they might go to a city of habitation.*' With his fingers on the cushion he measured the right way from the Red Sea through the Wilderness to Canaan, told us it was not forty days' march, but God led Israel forty years through the Wilderness before they came thither; yet this was still the Lord's right way, Who led His people, crincledum crancledum * * Then he reviewed our Civil Wars, our intervals of peace, and fresh distractions and hopes of rest. And though the Lord's people (he said) were not yet come to the city of habitation, He was still leading them on in the right way, how dark so ever His dispensations might appear to us. Before he concluded he seemed to me to preach his own funeral sermon."

Dark, indeed, will be the human dispensations awaiting Hugh Peters, but sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, and when the time comes he will not, like Mr. Lee, of Hatfield, turn back.

Upon the 2nd of February, General Monk moved forward from St. Albans by an easy march to Barnet. Scott and Robinson, the Parliamentary Commissioners, were still hanging on to his skirts, and travelled in their coach towards Barnet at the same time as the General. In this march we get a glimpse of what even the great high roads through the country were like, in the fact recorded by Dr. Gumble, who tells us that the two Parliamentary Commissioners, Scott and Robinson, sitting opposite each other "at each end of the coach, upon some great shaking and descent in the road, their heads beat one against the other, and Scott's head fell into a very great bleeding upon the forepart thereof, which to staunch, they were forced to call for a chyrurgeon of the Army, and to make some stop in their journey for his application." [*Life of General Monk*, by Dr. Gumble.]

Upon his arrival at Barnet, Monk "parted with his long guests, Scott and Robinson, and took quarters only for himself and his domestic retinue. So we were better accomodated" [Price]. Or, as Skinner has it, at Barnet, "his two evil angels, Scott and Robinson, that had never failed to quarter with him in the same house, now left him to take up his lodgings alone, and retired themselves to a private house in the town." But there was one more incident which had its comical side, before Monk shook himself quite free from the Parliamentary watch-dogs. Monk, according to tradition, made his quarters at the old Mitre Inn,† and in its rooms a strange apparition comes to the General at midnight, which is thus explained.

† The old Mitre Inn stood upon the site now occupied by the premises of Messrs. Smith and Company, grocers. It is so stated in *Old Barnet*, by the Rev. H. W. P. Stevens (now vicar of Tadlow, Cambs.).

In London, that night (the same night that Monk arrived at Barnet), there was a great turmoil, and whether the apprentices, the soldiers, or Parliament were having the upper hand, it seemed impossible to say. Parliament, in its fright, sends off a messenger to Barnet to its representatives, Scott and Robinson, who to their chagrin find, for once, the inconvenience of sleeping away from the General's quarters.

"Mr. Scott was so frightened out of his sleep with this hasty news, that he could not stay to dress himself, but in the dishabit of his nightgown, cap, and slippers, hurry'd presently to the General's quarters, where he made a terrible representation of this mutiny in the city, requiring General Monk to beat his drums instantly and march forward" [Skinner]. Of the comical scene, when Scott made his way through the town to deliver his (to him) alarming message, Dr. Price gives this graphic description :—"About midnight Scot (being frightened with a letter from *Westminster*, intimating that the soldiers, who were to leave their own quarters, were fallen into a high mutiny, and that there was danger that they would join with the *Prentices*, who cryed up in the streets for a *Free Parliament*) passionately desired, or rather by his authority required, the General immediately to beat their drums and march. The very posture of Scot's coming into us with his nightgown, cap, and slippers, might have made us believe that the danger was imminent. † But the General calmly answered him, *I will undertake for this night's disturbance* (says he) *and be early enough in the morning to prevent any mishap.*"

Scott had come through the benighted streets of Barnet to the wrong man to be frightened by the apparition of night cap, gown, and slippers; for, says Skinner, "the General that did not use to be alarmed with every little noise or put out of his temper by an hasty tale, return'd, answer calmly, and persuaded Mr. Scott to return to his bed and put his fears under his pillow; that he was so near the city that no great mischief could be done in one night."

So the General remained for the night at his quarters in Barnet, but a messenger was sent into the City to see and report what was the matter. Price adds that the motion for such a hasty march was looked upon "as an artifice of Scot's so to mingle the soldiers of *both Armies* that they might be the less at the General's devotion."

Monk, after quartering his Army near Barnet, for it would have been impossible to have quartered the 6,000 soldiers very well in its then two hundred houses, resumes the march to Highgate. He entered the City and met with no opposition; and, in the face of the rising tide of the people's desire for a change—anything which may save them from this semi-torpid system of Government into which the lack of an adequate successor to Cromwell had left them—many persons are beginning to count the cost, or in nautical phrase, are taking their bearings to find out if that be possible, where they are steering or drifting to in the event of a certain thing happening. Here and there, now doubtful old Parliamentarians who had done some little service to the "good old cause" in times when squeezing the Royalists was a virtue of the first water, are already "on the fence"—on the look out to see upon which side they shall drop down. Others are making their peace while there is time. Several members of the leading families in Hertfordshire are already on the side towards the rising sun of Royalty.

Monk did re-instate the excluded members as prayed for by the petitioners at St. Albans, and he was at the same time doing something to re-instate the King as well. The engagement of fealty to the Commonwealth—"without a King or House of Lords"—was repudiated on March 13th, and the last entry in the Journals of the famous Long Parliament, under date March 16th, 1660, records the passing of the Bill for dissolving itself, contains a conciliatory expression to the new powers looming in the future; orders a public fast for April 6th, 1660, and invokes a blessing upon the Parliament "shortly to be assembled," "that the Lord will make them healers of our breaches, and instruments to restore and settle peace and government in the Nations, upon foundations of Truth and Righteousness."

And so King Charles II, having issued from his then Court at Breda a decree of general pardon for all who would accept it, excepting such as Parliament itself might exempt from pardon, comes back "to claim his own again," welcomed with a wild enthusiasm from the people, and acknowledging with the ready wit born of an intoxicating dream that "it must have

† Les nouvelles du désordre arrivèrent au milieu de la nuit à Barnet, où les troupes de Monk avaient reçu l'ordre de marcher le lendemain vers la cité. Scott effrayé sortit de sa maison en bonnet de nuit, en robe de chambre et en pantoufles pour venir supplier le général de se porter sur-le-champ à Londres.—*Guizot.*

been his fault only which had kept him so long from a people so devoted to him."

In country towns as well as in the Metropolis, the tide of feeling had thoroughly set in favour of a King, and the revulsion of feeling led to some remarkable demonstrations in Hertfordshire. There was drinking and music, and universal merry-making and rejoicing. Huge bonfires, fed by the hands of soldiers at the expense of the Corporation, lit up the quaint old gables of inns and shops at Hertford, and cast weird shadows among the old wooden piles upon which the Shire Hall stood. At St. Albans was a brilliant scene of bonfires, of boisterous merry-making and the drinking of gallons of sack at the Market Cross, and of barrels of ale supplied by the innkeepers at the expense of the Corporation. In every old town in the county the drinking of sack at the Market Cross was a common indulgence upon the occasion of any important proclamation, as when the Protector was proclaimed, but on the occasion of the proclamation of our sovereign Lord the King, the sack drunk by the gentlemen, and the ale by the common people, beat all bibulous records of previous times in the county. At St. Albans the Mayor for the year, 1659-60—that is for the year ending September, 1660—credits himself with paying away the following sums :—

Paid Mrs. Sellioke for wine and tobacco drunk [*sic*] when our sovereign lord King Charles the Second was proclaimed King ...	3	11	0
Paid to James Hopkyns for two gallons of sack which was drunk when our said Sovereigne Lord the King was proclaimed		16	0
Paid to Thomas Mowntayne for a gallon of sack which was drunk then		8	0
Paid to Daniel Keene for a barrel of beer and for tobacco and bread for the soldiers who, under command of Major Robotham, were at the proclaiming of the King		16	0
Paid to Mr. John Gape for two barrels of beer which was drunk then ...	1	2	0

Then there is a payment for broken pots and pitchers which were used "for the people to drink," all of which seem to indicate a very free indulgence in conviviality and mirth.

At Berkhamsted they attempted some sort of fire-works, or a salvo of artillery, for which gunpowder and match were ordered, besides the usual barrels of ale, and the ringers were treated to a new set of bell ropes. They had 10*s.* each on 29th May, 1661, being his Majesty's birthday, and similar sums on coronation day. †

In almost every Hertfordshire village the old May-pole, if not destroyed, is brought out again, and where destroyed a new one is provided by the Squire. The village carpenter and painter are busily plying their craft, with a pride in the work, of preparing the May-pole to be set up in its accustomed place on the village green. For the May-pole had been a fixture as permanent as the Church, or stocks on the green, and "as high as the mast of a vessel of a hundred tons, painted often in a diagonal or spiral pattern from bottom to top in yellow and black or often in vertical stripes of red, white and blue"; and, when gaily surmounted with its wreaths of flowers and surrounded by the dancers of May-day, it presented a spectacle which did "infuse poetic feeling once more into the common people." There is a world of meaning in this simple entry which turns up in some of the old parish accounts for 1660:

"For the Maypole painting againe 0 10 0"

And as the carpenter trimmed the new pole or

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† "For proclaiming the King, 4*s.*; for the ringers, 5*s.*; for soldiers and bonfires, 9*s.* 6*d.*; the Arms of the Commonwealth to be taken down and the King's Arms put up. *Hertford Borough Records*, 1660.

May 12. To the ringers when the King was proclaimed	1	0	0
To the ringers, May 29, and to drink at the bonne-fire		3	6
To Robert Babbs, the painter, for setting up the King's Arms in the Church and writing the commandments	2	10	0
Paid to Mr. Hanslope for three sermons, one whereof was preached upon thanksgiving day for the King's most happy return to England	1	0	0
April 23, the day the King's majesty was crowned, to the ringers		10	0

Churchwardens' Accounts for St. Peter's Parish, St. Albans, 1660-1.

Item. Pd. to Thomas Benning for sweeping the King's Arms in the Church...			4
Item. Paid the Ringers when the King came in and when he was proclaimed ...	1	0	0
Item. For powder and match when King was proclaimed		15	2
Item for a barrell of beare when the King was proclaimed		10	0

—*Berkhamsted Churchwardens' Accounts, Add. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 18,773, *pp.* 168-9.

the painter re-painted the old, we see rustic groups looking on with interjections that it never ought to have been taken down, and a jealous pride in making the new pole to vie with that of the neighbouring parish, as the emblem of those golden days which were believed to be in store with a King once more upon the Throne!

Thus, with drinking, the ringing of the bells, the blazing of bon-fires in the towns and of beacon fires, and setting up of May-poles in the villages, the people were as jubilant as though they had never known such a thing as a Parliamentary party predominant in the county! The St. Albans people sent a deputation to wait upon the King in London with a present of "one hundred pieces of gold," and there is little doubt but that Hertford and other towns sent up their deputations also.

Naturally amidst the excitement and enthusiasm attending the King's proclamation the Roundheads of civil life, as well as the Anabaptists and other sectaries, came in for a good deal of contempt, if nothing worse. Thus in the blaze of bonfires at Waltham Cross they took a fagot and calling out "here is a Roundhead!" cast it into the fire which burned it; and then, taking another fagot said "here is an Anabaptist" and threw that into the fire; thus in their mock-play indicating something of the revulsion of feeling which was so soon to prevail with extreme rigour against the sectaries who had ruled the roost so long. How the Restoration turned all the machinery of local as well as national life is shown by official acts. For instance, the altered view of the oath of the Solemn League and Covenant is reflected in the declaration of the Mayor of St. Albans after the Restoration:—

"I, Robert New, do declare that I hold that there lies no obligation upon me or any other person from the oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant, that the same was in itself an unlawful oath and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the Kingdom."

But there was a more complete reversal of a general kind to follow.

"1661, 30th January.—This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcases of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshawe (the Judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the Usurper) dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings, to Tyburn and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators. Look back at October 22, 1658 [the imposing funeral of the Protector] and be astonished! and fear God and honour the King, but meddle not with them who are given to change!"†

In this gruesome incident again, described with so much partisan zeal by the old diarist Evelyn, a Hertfordshire man, Col. Silas Titus, as appears by the personal testimony of King Charles II., was a notable actor. We thus come round to the point at which it may be well to notice the part played by some heroes in the strife—the careers of some Hertfordshire men and women, a record of whose deeds and whose fortunes, of whose bravery, fortitude, and romantic adventure will not, it is believed, be of less interest, and will occasionally supplement, the general narrative which I have endeavoured thus far to lay before the reader.

† In the *Mercurius Publicus* for Jan. 31st, 1661, there is this local reference coupled with the removal of the bodies of Cromwell and the others to Tyburn:—"And now we cannot forget how at Cambridge, where Cromwell first set up for a rebel, he riding under the gallows, his horse, curvetting, threw his cursed Highness out of the saddle, just under the gallows (as if he had been turned off the ladder); the spectators, then observing the place and rather presaging the present work of this day, than the monstrous villanies of this day twelve years. But he is now again thrown under the gallows (never more to be digged up) and there we leave him."

PART THE SECOND.

HEROES IN THE STRIFE.

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
And win or lose it all.

LORD CAPEL OF HADHAM—HIS LIFE AND ADVENTURES.—HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

Our lion-like Capel undaunted stood,
Beset with crosses in a field of blood!

Historically we should expect that the temper of Hertfordshire would be of that kind which would go strongly with measures for keeping the King within the lines of the Constitution, which marked the earlier stages of the struggle, and yet as soon as those measures took the extreme form of actual hostilities against the head of the Constitution, many of the leading families could no longer distinguish between what was aimed at the King's unwise policy, and what was aimed at his Majesty and the Kingship. Hence they became Royalists and fought for the continuance of a King, even a weak one, rather than as vindicating his past acts. They would rather drop their grievances than their King, and preferred historical continuity to a movement which began to threaten all Kings and Princes.

In the field of actual war, the weak point in the Royalist leaders was their lack of statesmanship and persistence; serving a Cavalier Prince they fought cavalierly, giving "the rebels," their opponents, a contemptuous drubbing whenever circumstances made it dignified to do so, but failing to follow up their advantage when, in the early stages of the conflict, the game was almost in their own hands. Displaying notable acts of bravery, they lacked the administrative ability to turn them to the best account, and failed to grasp the strength of their opponents—the inspiration of a great principle, which when once it got into the hearts of a sufficient body of men, and could find sufficient means for its adequate expression, must be invincible.

The Cavaliers, having missed their chance of complete victory in the field, opened out to them in the year 1643, found in the end the cause of a people must be stronger than the cause of a King when the two come in conflict. Yet their personal devotion and splendid acts of self-sacrifice for the Royal cause—when everything, the loss of social and domestic ties, and of wealth and estates, was thrown into the balance against them—and the striking contrasts in the situations they found themselves brought into by the force of events, give to the careers of these Royalist leaders in Hertfordshire a dramatic element and a degree of human interest which hardly belonged to the leaders of the Parliamentary party, with the exception of Axtell, and perhaps one or two others.

They were indeed—

A loyal band to follow their liege lord
* * * *
Along a track of most unnatural years,
In execution of heroic deeds!

For this reason, though the great body of the inhabitants of the county of Hertford were, on the whole, consistent supporters of the Parliament, the interest of individual careers within the county lies chiefly on the side of the Royalists. First and most valiant of all the Hertfordshire, and indeed of English, Royalists, was Arthur, Lord Capel, of Hadham; for, next to his Royal Master, the King, there is perhaps no individual career in that stormy period which, on the Royalist side, occupies such a conspicuous

place as that of Lord Capel, more especially in what he suffered, and in the fortunes which attended him in life and in death.

At the outbreak of the War, Capel was in the prime of life, 37 years of age, very tall and handsome; and, already noted for his hospitality and generous regard for the poor, it is not surprising that he was very popular in the county, or that in the Parliament of 1640, when great things were expected from the people's representatives, at last having a voice, he should have been chosen as one of the Knights to represent the County. From contemporary writings it is evident that at the commencement of his career he was strongly opposed to the use which was being made of the Royal prerogative, and he represented his constituents, the freeholders of Hertfordshire, by presenting a petition for them against Ship-money, the Star Chamber, High Commission Courts, and other grievances. As the opposition to the King became more pronounced and less moderate, his views completely changed, and Capel became as strong a supporter of the cause of the King as he had been before of the cause of the Parliament, though no one seems to have accused him of any self-seeking motive.

It could not have been long after he had stood up in the House of Commons so conspicuously for his county and their grievances that Capel began to see that the Parliamentary party were bent upon extreme measures in which he would have to part company, and by the summer months of 1641, the attitude of the Member for Hertfordshire had been so much changed as to come under the notice of the King, then on the look out for the support of every man of influence, character, and position.

In one of his letters to the Queen the King wrote:—"There is one that doth not yet pretend, that deserves as well as any; I mean Capel; therefore I desire thy assistance to find out something for him before he ask." [Britton's *History of Cassiobury Park*, p. 22.] It was soon after this, on the 6th of August, 1641, that Capel was raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron Capel, of Hadham.

When the King left London for York Capel was one of the lords who accompanied his Majesty, and signed the declaration expressing the belief that the King "had no intention of making war upon Parliament." But circumstances were stronger than declarations, and when the King issued his Commission of Array for raising money, arms, and men, Capel immediately set about the raising of a troop of horse for the King; and, "in the straits to which the King was driven for want of money, Capel showed great energy in making and getting contributions from all who could be prevailed upon to subscribe." He raised a body of horse at his own cost, and, as we have seen, was for some time a trouble and cause of anxiety to Cromwell around Cambridge when the War began.

After Capel had drawn off his forces from Cambridgeshire, we find him in April, 1643, "maintaining the King's cause in Shropshire," and urging upon Prince Rupert to advance against Cheshire on the plea that "if Nantwich were taken Manchester would soon fall, and after that, between Oxford and Scotland, the King's affairs will have little impediment." In the same year Capel was sent by the King to Shrewsbury with the Commission of Lieutenant-General of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, where his influence, as a person of great fortune and honour, "quickly engaged those parts in a cheerful association, and raised a body of horse and foot," which gave Sir William Brereton much trouble.

As the War progressed, Capel was taken somewhat out of the main current of the conflict by the determination of the King that a Council should be appointed "to be about the Prince of Wales, to meet frequently at the Prince's lodgings to confer with his Highness." Capel was appointed one of the Commissioners, but he still found abundant scope for his splendid sacrifices for the Royal cause, as well as for his courageous adherence to what he believed to be a right and patriotic line of conduct.

When, in 1644-5, Capel was in command of one regiment of Horse and one of Foot to attend upon the Prince of Wales, these regiments had to be raised by Capel "upon his own credit and interest," there being at that time not one man raised of Horse or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, nor for the support of the Prince and his family—"in so great a scarcity and poverty was the King himself at his Court at Oxford." In 1646, in the month of May, when Prince Charles was in Jersey, and Capel and Culpepper were sent to St. Germains to urge the Queen to desist from her desire to remove the Prince thither, Capel was much against the Queen, and when the Prince preferred to obey his mother to her advisers, Hyde, Capel, and Hopton refused to accompany him; upon which Gardiner, the historian, says:

"These three men represented the honourable Royalism which stooped to no intrigue and would soil itself with no baseness."

While Capel was waiting for another opportunity of serving the King, his estates at Hadham, Cassiobury, and other places, had been taken in hand by the Sequestrating Committee sitting at Hertford, and had been bestowed by Parliament upon the Earl of Essex. After this Capel came back to England, made terms with the Parliament, and spent some time in retirement with his family and neighbours at Hadham. † Meanwhile events were happening which caused him again to be impatient for action. The King, as we have seen, was with the Army a prisoner only in name in that famous procession from Newmarket and Triplow Heath through Royston to Hatfield, whence, after tarrying awhile, he proceeded to Hampton Court.

While Parliament was wrangling about how near it was safe for the Army to come to the Metropolis, Lord Capel at Hadham was in frequent communication with the King at Hampton Court, and was in the secret of the King's flight to the Isle of Wight. Then the county of Hertford was thrown into a state of ferment by Lord Capel beginning an active Commission of Array amongst his neighbours, raising forces for the Second Civil War, some local incidents of which have already been described. In Hertfordshire Capel was partially successful, carrying with him several of the gentry, chiefly from his own eastern side of the county, including Sir John Watts, Sir Thomas Fanshawe, the Bromleys of Westmill (Ware), and others of his near neighbourhood. But so many of the Royalists in other parts of the county had had their "wings clipped," or had tired of the conflict, that the array by Capel was not generally popular over the whole county. Still, if he did not succeed to so large an extent in his own county as his influence and high character in other respects would have deserved, he was able, from this and adjoining counties, to command a solid amount of support which has not unjustly fixed upon Capel the chief responsibility for that renewal of the Civil War in 1648 which led to the disastrous results at Colchester already described. At the surrender of Colchester, after its terrible siege, in August, 1648, the officers, including Capel, were detained as prisoners of war, and Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, being "soldiers of fortune," were led out to be shot †

After the execution of Lucas and Lisle, Fairfax visited Capel in the Town-house, where he was expecting the same fate. Fairfax "who (says Clarendon) was an ill orator on the most plausible occasion," spoke civilly to Capel as if to excuse what had been done, and said that having done "what military justice required" the lives of the rest were safe, that they should be well treated and disposed of as Parliament should direct; to which Capel, "with the undaunted spirit of a Roman," had "not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding," replied that "they should do well to finish their work and execute the same rigour to the rest." Upon this there were "two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton," that it is thought may have led to the severe sentence upon Capel which followed a few months later.

From Colchester Lord Capel was sent a prisoner to Windsor Castle. Upon the 10th of November following, the House voted that he should be banished out of the kingdom, but that punishment was apparently not considered severe enough, and he was removed a prisoner to the Tower. Ever full of resource as well as courage, Capel, who could face death, if need be, was not the man to remain inactive long, and soon began to cast about him for means of escape. Aided by friends, he, on the 1st of February, 1649, soon after being brought to the Tower, set about his adventure. A cord and all things necessary were conveyed to him to enable him to let himself down from his chamber window in the night time, over the wall of the Tower. But outside the wall the risk only began, for he would have to wade through the deep ditch! He had received directions at what point to wade through the ditch, but in the dark appears to have missed the safe part, and soon found the mud and water so deep that "if he had not been by the head taller than other men he must have perished, since the water came up to his chin." We are further told that—

† Lord Capel, while resident at Hadham, was one of the Justices sitting at Buntingford, as appears by his signature to the monthly returns of Justices, as to their commitments, management of the highways, etc., which were required to be made to the Privy Council. [*State Papers*, Charles I.]

† When they arrived at the place of execution Lucas, tearing open his doublet, exclaimed, "Fire, Rebels!" and instantly fell. Sir George Lisle ran to his old friend, kissed his dead body, and then turning to Fairfax's soldiers desired them to advance nearer, to which one of them replied, "Fear not, Sir, we shall hit you," to which Lisle answered "My friends, I have been nearer when you have missed me."

"The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much mud so intolerable, that his spirits were near spent, and he was ready to call out for help, thinking it better to be carried back to the prison than to be found in such a place from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God that he got at last to the other side; where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple; where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better."

In fact, a strict search was made for him and a reward of £100 was offered by Parliament for his capture. When proceeding at night up the river with a friend in order to conceal himself at his friend's house in Lambeth Marsh, though in disguise, the waterman who rowed him, after the landing, followed them, saw the house they went to and then went and asked an officer what he would give him "to bring him to the place where the Lord Capel lay." The result was that Capel was taken back to the Tower, and the House on February 3rd, only two days after the midnight adventure in the mud, "ordered that the Committee of Revenue pay £40 to those persons that took Lord Capel, as Col. Harrison shall think fit."

When Capel was brought before the Commission appointed to try him, and others, under Bradshaw, he, with dignity and firmness, maintained that the terms of the capitulation of Colchester, assented to by Fairfax, secured to him his life. "I am a prisoner of war; I had a fair quarter given me, and all the gowns in the world have nothing to do with me." So spake Capel, who demanded to be tried by his peers or that he might see the jury who were to try him. But all this, says Walker [*Hist. Independency*], "was but to charm a deaf adder. He was a gallant gentleman, and they durst not let him live."

Bradshaw, the president, told Lord Capel, "with many insolent expressions," that he was tried before such judges as the Parliament thought fit to assign him, and who had judged a better man than himself [referring to the trial of the late King]. †

The Earl of Holland — the unfortunate individual whom we have seen passing through Hertfordshire with a bullet in his shoulder, pursued by the Parliamentarians to the ill-fated battle of St. Neots—he, too, with Lord Goring and the Duke of Hamilton, and Sir John Owen, a Welshman, are all on their trial. Sir John Owen, who had had the misfortune to kill a High Sheriff, said he was a plain gentleman of Wales who had been always taught to obey the King; that he had served him honestly during the War, and that the High Sheriff endeavoured to oppose him and so chanced to be killed, "which he might have avoided if he had stayed at home." All five of them were sentenced "to lose their heads," upon which the witty Welshman made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks, and, being asked by a stander-by what he meant, said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords," and swore a great oath "that he was afraid they would have hanged him."

But Capel and his companions in misfortune are not to lose their heads without an effort by their friends, with the bribes which were necessary to get their petitions presented and supported.

On the 7th of March the humble petitions of the noble lords are presented, excepting Capel's; for him there appears a mediator. The House is informed "that the Lady Elizabeth Capel is at the door of the House." She is ordered to be called in, and there at the Bar of the House is pleading for her husband's life by presenting a petition which (after Lady Capel has withdrawn) is read, and is entitled "the humble petition of Arthur Lord Capel."

While the weighty matter of these petitions is under consideration no member is allowed to depart without leave of the House, and upon a division 38 say "no," and only 28 "yea," on the question whether the matter shall be further considered. Next day, in a House for which the division list shows an attendance of only about 60 members, the question is again raised, and the "noes" being in a minority of three, the petitions are read, candles are ordered to be

† Fairfax, in defending himself in regard to Capel, remarked that everything was done according to his commission, in handing Capel over to Parliament, and in answer to the objection that he may have lent countenance to Capel's trial by going into the Court during the trial, he says:—"To which I answer that it was at the earnest request of my Lord Capel's friends, who desired me to explain there 'what was meant by surrender to mercy,' otherwise I had not gone there, being always unsatisfied with those courts."—Fairfax's *Short Memorial.*

brought in, and the House settles down to debating the vital question of life or death! The cumbersome machinery of the Long Parliament's division is set in motion on the formal question "whether the execution of —— shall be respited a short time." The Earl of Holland's life is forfeited by one vote only—31 for death, 30 for life—Goring's life is trembling in the balance. The House has thinned, and 24 say life and 24 death. Mr. Speaker Lenthall gives the casting vote for life!

Then "the humble petition of Arthur Lord Capel was read again, and the question was put that the execution of Lord Capel be respited for a short time." When Lady Capel had presented her petition for her husband, "many gentlemen spoke on his behalf and mentioned the great virtues which were in him, and said that he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of their party, but always resolutely declared himself for the King." Cromwell "spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him that all men thought he was now safe," till he (Cromwell) concluded by saying that "his affection for the public so much weighed down his private friendship that he could not but tell them that: The question now is whether you will preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy you have. I know the Lord Capel very well, and I know that he would be the last man in England that would desert the Royal cause. He has great courage, industry and generosity. He has many friends who would adhere to him, and as long as he lives, whatsoever condition he may be in, he will always be a thorn in your sides. Therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, I shall give my vote against the petition."

Coming from such a source, this was perhaps the finest testimony that could be passed upon Capel; and, it is not surprising, after this deliverance from one who knew every man of worth he had to contend with so well as Cromwell did, to read in the old journals of Parliament the laconic entry, "it passed with the negative." And so Capel's doom is sealed!

The remarkable scene at the execution, his touching letters to his wife, and his fortitude in the face of death, all suggest the application of Aytoun's lines—

> And he never walked to battle
> More proudly than to die!

On the day before his execution, Capel was attended by Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, to whom he avowed that he could not accuse himself of any great sin but only one, and that was the giving his vote in Parliament for the death of Lord Strafford, "which," said he, "I did against my conscience, not of any malice to the person of the man but out of a base fear, and carried away by the violence of a prevailing faction, and for which I have been and am heartily sorry, and have often with tears begged and (I hope) obtained pardon of Almighty God;" adding that if he (Dr. Morley) thought fit "he would make this confession upon the scaffold."

The letters written to Lady Capel, his wife, just before his death are very touching and manly. The day before his execution he wrote thus:—

"My dear Life, my greatest care in relation to the world is for thy dear self. I beseech thee again and again moderate thy apprehension and sorrows for me, and preserve thyself to the benefit of our dear children. * * * I pray remember that the occasion of my death will give thee more cause to celebrate my memory with praise rather than to consider it with sadness. God hath commanded my obedience to the Fifth Commandment, and for acting that duty I am condemned. * * * I shall leave thee my dear children; in them I live with thee, and leave them to the protection of a most gracious God."

Writing again a few last words to his noble wife on the day of his execution he says:—

"Let me live long here in thy dear memory, to the comfort of my family and our dear children, whom God, out of mercy in Christ, hath bestowed upon us. God be unto thee better than an husband, and to my children better than a father. God be with thee, my most virtuous wife; God multiply many comforts to thee and my children, is the fervent prayer of thy," etc. †

On the 9th of March, the day appointed for his execution, Lord Capel was carried in a sedan chair, under guard, to Sir Thomas Cotton's house at Westminster, where he remained two hours, spending most of the time in religious exercises. Just before being taken to the scaffold he told Dr. Morley that "if he thought there were nothing of vain ostentation in it, he would give order that his heart should be

† *Excellent Contemplations, &c.*, Brit. Mus. Lib. 1416, a. 27.

taken out of his body, and kept in a silver box until his Majesty came home (as he doubted not but he would) and then that it might be presented to him, with his humble desire that where the King, his father, was interred, it might be buried at his feet in testimony of the zeal he had for his service, and the affection he had for his person whilst he lived."

On the morning of the execution of the noble lords, a great crowd of people gathered in front of Westminster Hall to witness an incident in the drama, which, next to the execution of the King, created a greater amount of interest than any event since the termination of the War. The scaffold was erected at the front of Westminster Hall, and the peers had to walk down the Hall, the Duke of Hamilton first, then the Earl of Holland, who has now lost all that ready faculty of speech with which he sought to conciliate the St. Albans and St. Neots people six months before. He now, "by his long sickness, was so spent that his spirits served not to entertain the people with long discourse; and was so weak that he could not have lived long," for "when his head was cut off very little blood followed." Very different was the Lord Capel, whose tall commanding figure was next seen coming down the Hall to the foot of the scaffold. At his (Capel's) request Dr. Morley parted with him at the foot of the scaffold.

The following interesting particulars of the last moments of Lord Capel and of his bearing upon the scaffold are taken from *Whitelock's Memorials*. The extract follows the account of the execution of the other noble lords.

"Next was my Lord Capel brought to the scaffold much after the manner of a stout Roman; he had no minister with him, nor showed any sense of death approaching, but carried himself all the time he was upon the scaffold with that boldness and resolution as was to be admired.

"He wore a sad coloured suit, his hat cocked up, and his cloak thrown under one arm. He looked towards the people at his first coming up, and put off his hat in a manner of a salute; he had a little discourse with some gentlemen upon the scaffold and passed up and down in a careless posture.

"He went to the front of the scaffold and, leaning over, made a speech to the people. He said he died a Protestant according to the religion professed in the Thirty-nine Articles, the best he knew of. That he was condemned for keeping the Fifth Commandment written by God's own finger, which commanded to obey magistrates; and he died for obeying his King, the most religious of all princes, and his son Prince Charles, who he said was King, and the rest of the King's children heirs of the Crown.

"He concluded with a desire to the people to pray for him, and after a short discourse with some on the scaffold, he spake once or twice to the executioner and gave him money; then he put off his cloak and doublet with much confidence, and put on a white cap, took leave briefly of the gentlemen on the scaffold, and prepared for the block; where, laying himself down, with hands and eyes lifted up, he prayed a while; after that, fitting himself to the block, upon the signal of stretching forth his right hand, the executioner severed his head from his body at one blow, which were coffined up and carried away."

Another contemporary authority says that at the last moment, in giving directions to the executioner as to the signal for him to strike, Lord Capel said "Honest man, I have forgiven thee, therefore strike boldly; from my very soul I do it." †

Clarendon says:—"As soon as his Lordship had ascended the scaffold, he looked vigorously about and asked 'whether the other lords had spoken to the people with their hats on?' and being told 'that they were bare' he gave his hat to his servant, and then with a clear and strong voice he said that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of; that he had been born and bred under the government of a King, whom he was bound in conscience to obey; under laws to which he had been always obedient, and in the bosom of a Church which he thought the best in the world; that he had never violated his faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die against all the laws of the land; to which sentence he did submit. * * He prayed to God to forgive the nation the innocent blood of the late King * * and recommended their present King, * their

† Whether the executioner of the King was the same man who was entrusted with the melancholy office for his loyal servant, Lord Capel, is not very clear, but it is on record [*State Trials*, vol. v, p. 1192] that at Capel's execution he asked Gregory Brandon, who was to be his executioner, if he was the man who killed his late master the King. "Aye, sir," Brandon replied. "And with this axe?" asked Lord Capel. "Even so," the man replied. Whereupon Lord Capel "kissed the axe and gave the executioner some money."

true and lawful sovereign, and was worthy to be so: that he had the honour to have been some years near his person, and therefore he could not but know him well * * and advised them to submit to his government as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the Protestant religion. * * After some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his knees, he submitted himself with an unparalleled Christian courage to the fatal stroke, which deprived the nation of the noblest champion it had." [*Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion.*]

"Thus died Lord Capel," says Carlyle, "the first who complained of grievances; in seven years there are such changes for a man; and the first acts of his Drama little know what the last will be." Heath says: "But my Lord Capel (like a true Christian hero), as he came last, so did he sum up all (both in speech, countenance, and gestures) that was good, praiseworthy, and generous in them both. * * So as with Samson, he may be said to have done these Philistians more harm at his death than in all his life; raising and renewing the desires of the people after so deserving a Prince." [*Chronicle of the Civil War*, p. 424.]

For one who stood in the front rank of the Royalists, Lord Capel was not in personal appearance quite the dashing Cavalier that might be inferred. In fact, judging from the almost contemporary portrait in *Heath's Chronicle*, the face is one of judicial temper even to gravity; with almost a Puritan plainness of collar and manner of dressing the hair—as much the head and face of a Puritan scholar as of the other extreme of the foppish Cavalier.

In accordance with the request expressed to Dr. Morley, Lord Capel's heart was taken out of his body and deposited in a silver box, enclosed within another, with two locks, and placed in the hands of Lord Beauchamp, who had the keeping of one key, and Sir Thomas Corbett of the other. Lord Beauchamp, just before his death, delivered up the box to Sir Thomas Corbett. Bishop Morley, in his narrative, adds: "As soon as the King came home I brought Sir Thos. Corbett to him and saw him give the silver box, with that generous and loyal heart in it, to the King's own hands." No funeral rites having been performed to the memory of Charles I, the silver box containing Capel's heart was sent by King Charles II, at the Restoration, to the son of Lord Capel, who was then created Earl of Essex, and who caused the casket containing the heart of his father to be deposited in the evidence room at Hadham Hall, where (says Clutterbuck) it was accidentally discovered in 1703 by Dr. Stanley, Dean of St. Asaph and Chaplain to the Earl of Essex, who received directions from the Family to deposit it in the Family Vault, † but that upon his recommendation, and as a means of guarding against its being stolen for the sake of the silver, an iron box was obtained, the silver box sold and the proceeds given to the poor of the parish, and the iron box with the heart contained in it was deposited in the family vault. There it remained at Hadham for another hundred years or more, when in 1809, George, Earl of Essex, had it removed to Cassiobury.

From this point—the removal of the casket from Hadham to Watford in 1809—the actual fate and place of disposal of this interesting relic have given rise to several rather conflicting statements in different county publications, which it may be well here to simplify a little. There is on the wall of the Inner Library at Cassiobury—the palatial seat of the Earls of Essex, from the time that title was conferred upon Lord Capel's son—a brass plate bearing this inscription:—

> "Within this stone is deposited the heart of Arthur, Lord Capel, who was beheaded by the rebels, March 9th, 1649."

And it further states that it was brought to Cassiobury from Hadham by George, Earl of Essex, in 1809. Beyond this, there is, it appears, no absolute certainty upon the point whether the heart is now actually deposited behind this brass plate or not. On the one hand the use of the words, "Within this stone," seem rather

† Lord Capel was buried within the sanctuary of Little Hadham Church, and upon a large black stone is the inscription:—"Here under lyeth interred the body of Arthur Lord Capell, Baron of Hadham, who was murdered for his loyalty to King Charles I, March 9th, 1649." It was stated in a paper read to the members of the Society for Preserving Memorials of the Dead, by the Rev. J. M. Bury, rector of Hadham, upon a visit by the Society in June, 1892, that at the partial restoration and repairing of the chancel of the church in 1883, the Capel vault, within the altar rails, was opened in the presence of the late Earl of Essex and Lady Essex; that within the vault were found the lead casing of the body of Lord Capel, also of his wife, and his son, Lord Tewkesbury. It further appeared from notes furnished at the time by Mr. Betts, the present owner of Hadham Hall, that in the same year a mould was taken of the lead casing over the body of Lord Capel, and that even the joints of the fingers could be seen through the lead casing, and that the brass plate with the name and date of his death was soldered on to the lead over the chest like a breast-plate.

suggestive of the previous deposit in the vault at Hadham, rather than in the wall of a room; yet on the other hand the latter part of the inscription seems to suggest that it was composed and put in its present position by the person who caused the relic to be removed from Hadham in 1809, viz. by the then Earl of Essex. That there was such a removal of the casket in 1809 seems beyond doubt, and as the inscription on the face of it appears to be contemporary with and intended to record such removal, there is a strong presumption that it marks the spot where the relic was and still is deposited. †

Of the character of Lord Capel, Clarendon says: "He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished. He had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort; so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs. * * And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated and his just power invaded than he threw all those blessings behind him, and having no other obligations to the Crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune in the beginning of the troubles, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger, and continued to the end without ever making one false step. In a word, he was a man that whoever shall after him deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of Lord Capel."

Carlyle's implied hint at Capel's interested motives—that he was the first to stand up for grievances, but being made Lord Capel, "the wind sits in another quarter now"—was simply an instance of riding rough-shod over everything running counter to his own hero, and in the face of Cromwell's own testimony, and Capel's life and death, had better have been left unsaid; for, whatever we may think of the cause for which he fought and died, there was no single career perhaps which, judged by its results, more clearly bore the stamp of disinterestedness than that which Capel sealed with his life. That he should have taken so prominent a part in forcing on the Second Civil War when there was no hope of eliciting such a response from the country as would make it effectual—when in fact the country had, for the most part, wearied of the strife, and was ready to acknowledge—

> War fails, try peace, put up the useless sword!

—this, however promising the venture might seem to a Royalist of Capel's martial spirit, was the one constitutional mistake to which possibly he owed the loss of his life, and by which it may be the fate of his Royal Master, whom he was ready to die to serve, may have been made the more difficult to extricate from that overwhelming odds which had already accumulated against him. No one, who has at all studied Capel's career to the end, with all the consequences it involved, can well avoid the conclusion that he would have become a Royalist even as the plain Arthur Capel, the Member for Hertfordshire, who first stood up for grievances.

Among the contemporary books which the fate of the King and Lord Capel brought forth is the curious book of elegies by John Quarles, preserved with the collection of King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, entitled, "*Regale Lectum Miseriæ, or a Kingly Bed of Miserie*," the chief contents being "An Elegy upon the never-to-be forgotten Charles the First" [the alternate pages of which are solid black ink], and also "An Elegy upon the Right Honourable Lord Capell, Baron of Hadham, who was beheaded at Westminster for maintaining the ancient and fundamental lawes of the Kingdom of England." The poetry is not very notable, but the sentiment was appropriate enough to Capel's life and death:—

> 'Twill be a glory when the world shall say,
> 'Twas bravely done, his Sovereigne led the way,
> And he (as valiant souldiers ought to doe)
> March'd boldly after, and was alwayes true.

At the end is quoted the text from St. James v, 6, "Ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you."

The bibliography of Lord Capel also includes "An elegy on that renowned hero and Cavalier, the Lord Capell." "Obsequies of that unexemplar champion of Chivalrie and perfect patern of true prowesse, Arthur Lord Capell;" and, per contra, "Shropshire's misery and mercie manifested in

† I believe I am right in saying that, whatever element of doubt there may be, it has not been sufficient to outweigh the reluctance of the noble owners of Cassiobury to disturb the work of their ancestor, by any actual test or examination.

the defeat given to the Lord Capel's ravenous and devouring armie by the forces of Cheshire and Shropshire under Sir William Brereton," etc. Among Capel's own writings there are "Daily Observations and Meditations"; "Excellent Contemplations," and his "Dying Speech," which have already been referred to and quoted from.

The "Excellent Contemplations" are such as did credit to the head and heart of the writer. More interesting than these are his letters written while in the Tower just before his execution. In one of these he thus lays down his own position :—"My conclusion shall be very plain. The antient constitutions and present laws of this Kingdom are my inheritance and birth-right. If any shall think to impose upon me that which is worse than death, which is the profane and dastardly parting from these laws, I will chuse the less evil, which is death. I have also a right in Kingship, the protector of those laws; and lastly in this King is my present right and also obligations of inestimable favours received from him. I would to God my life could be a sacrifice to preserve his."

The book in the British Museum containing the above Capelliana adds the following lines :—

> Here virtue, valour, charity, and all
> Those rare endowments we celestial call
> Included are, nor wonder at the story,
> Capel lies here, loyalty's chiefest glory.

The couplet placed at the head of this notice of the life and death of Capel refers to his Arms —a lion rampant in a Field Gules, between three crosses—hence the lines in the King's Pamphlets, which Chauncey conveniently misquotes as, *Thus* lion-like Capel—

> Our lion-like Capel undaunted stood,
> Beset with crosses in a field of blood.

Lord Capel married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Charles Morrison, of Cassiobury, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. At Cassiobury, then the seat of the Morrisons and now of the Earl of Essex, there are portraits of Lord Capel and Elizabeth, his devoted wife, and of his children, and below this family group is the inscription referring to the removal from Hadham of the case containing the heart of Lord Capel. Here is also preserved the patent by which Charles I created him Baron Capel of Hadham, besides relics of Charles I—a piece of the ribbon of the garter worn by the King at his execution, and a piece of his funeral pall. There is also a portrait of Lord Capel at the Grove, now the seat of the Earl of Clarendon, and another at Hadham Hall, now the seat of Mr. Samuel Betts.

For some time after Lord Capel had lost his life for his service to the King, his family affairs continued to engage the attention of Parliament. The total sum of the debts, as set forth in the Royalist Composition Papers [Record Office] which he had contracted in the King's service, amounted to £20,000, the chief creditors being Richard, Thomas and John Bennett, £5,500; Wm. Dorrington, £3,000; John Beadle, £3,500; Mrs. Hearne, £1,050; and Margaret his sister, £2,000, "being her whole portion." It is a curious circumstance that the pension of £10,000 a year for the Parliamentary Commander, the then Earl of Essex, the last of the family of Devereux, was in 1645 ordered to be made up as to one moiety of £5,000, out of the estates of Lord Capel † at Hadham, Cassiobury and other estates of his, and of those of other Royalists—that the pension for the last earl of one family should be made up from the estates of a man whose son and descendants were destined to hold the title of Earl of Essex for another family.

On 18th June, 1660, Lady Elizabeth Capel, "the disconsolate widow of the late Lord Capel," petitions the House of Lords, that "all those who had a hand in the notorious wickedness of the unjust sentence and barbarous murder of her husband, contrary to the solemn engagement of the Army at the siege of Colchester, may be brought to condign punishment." To this petition there was destined to be a very sufficient answer in the trial and execution of the Regicides within a few short weeks.

There are indications that the young Arthur Capel, like the young Cromwell and the old, mingled in the fray. There is also abundant evidence of his personal courage. After the Restoration he was made Earl of Essex in recognition of the valour of his noble father, and it is a matter of general history how he upheld the supremacy of the British flag, and braved

† The County Committee for Hertfordshire, showing a desire to out-Parliament Parliament, conceived the brilliant idea of letting Lord Capel's house at Cassiobury to his old enemy at the siege of Chester, Sir William Brereton, but Parliament saved this "unkindest cut of all" by giving the preference to the Earl of Pembroke in the renting of Cassiobury House during the time in which it was sequestrated from Lord Capel's use by Parliament.—*Lords' Journals*, vol. viii., 26 Oct. 1646.

the guns of Croningsberg, as Ambassador to Denmark, by refusing to strike sail to the Danish King's ships, with the result that the Governor of Croningsberg for firing upon him had to beg the Earl's forgiveness on his knees in the streets of Croningsberg, before the young Ambassador's lodgings. The unfortunate ending of the life of this young nobleman also belongs to more general history, though it may be mentioned that there is in the Library of the British Museum "A Discourse endeavouring to prove that Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, did not murther himself, with the deposition of many witnesses."—[Harl. MSS. 1221.]

LORD FALKLAND OF ALDENHAM.

Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,
Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking!
Dream of battle fields no more,
Days of danger, nights of waking.

The spirit of these lines, if not their precise literary form, might very well rest as an epitaph upon the memorial, on the battle-field of Newbury, of Lucius Cary, of Aldenham, Herts, and the great Lord Falkland of history. A prince among the learned, a moderate leader in the State, when moderate men were sorely needed, but were unhappily too few for their influence to prevail—poet, philosopher, and statesman, he was thrown into the great maelstrom as a soldier by necessity and not by choice.

In that severe battle which lasted from morning till night—the first battle of Newbury, 20th Sept., 1643—England lost one of her greatest statesmen, and the King, one whose moderation, wisdom, and enlarged and liberal views might have been of great value in the bitter years that were to come. Viscount Falkland was a nobleman of prodigious accomplishments, "one of the wonders of his age" [Nalson], whose culture found a typical expression in his own remark that he "pitied unlearned men in a rainy day." His vast learning and accomplishments did not, however, bear him up, but weighed him down, amidst the trying ordeal of the War, of which he soon became intensely weary.

In those final negotiations which were rejected by Parliament with "infinite scorn" it was the pacific Viscount Falkland who passed through Hertfordshire as the bearer of the last proposals for peace which unhappily failed. Before the quarrel had reached the arbitrament of the sword, Falkland was almost at one with his Hertfordshire neighbours, frankly asserting in his speeches in Parliament that the principal cause of the oppressions of the Kingdom in religion and liberty had been some Bishops and their adherents who had been "the destruction of unity under the pretence of uniformity," who had "brought in superstition and scandal under the titles of reverence and decency," and had "defiled the Church by adorning the Churches."

The temperament of the great statesman is indicated by the story that, after the fashion of the astrologists and fortune-tellers of the day, and the casting of a fate by a verse of the Bible or a line from Virgil, when King Charles I. and Lord Falkland were in the Bodleian Library at Oxford they made experiments with the "Sortes Virgilianæ," and both got ominous answers; Falkland's being "harassed by the arms and the fight of the audacious people."

This great "prince of knowledge" was out of place on the battle-field, and before the crisis at Newbury he, at the siege of Gloucester among his friends, would, after a deep silence, says Clarendon, "ingeminate the word 'peace! peace!' and would passionately profess that the very agony of the War, and the view of the calamities and desolation which the Kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him and would shortly break his heart."

The night before the first battle of Newbury, in September, 1643, it is said he lodged with a respectable tradesman of the name of Head, in the Market-place at Newbury; and, as if to be fully prepared for an event which he knew was certain, very early on the morning of the battle he desired the clergyman of Newbury to administer to him, as well as to Mr. Head and his family, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In preparing and arranging his apparel he exhibited more than usual care, "assigning as a reason that the enemy should not find his body in a slovenly condition." [Burke's *Romance of Great Families.*] Contrary to the advice of his friends when the battle had begun, he went into the thick of the fight, saying—"I am weary of the times, and foresee much misery to my country, but I believe I shall be out of it ere night." In this mood he went to the front, placing himself in the first rank of Sir John Byron's Regiment, and was struck by a musket ball and killed.

It was in Sir John Byron's attempt to dislodge

the Parliamentarians from a strong position that Falkland fell, of which Sir John Byron says :—"My Lord Falkland did me the honour to ride in my troop this day, and I would needs go along with him ; the enemy had beat our foot out of the close, and was drawne up near the hedge I went to view ; and as I was giving orders to make the gapp wide enough, my horse was shott in the throat * * * in the meanwhile my Lord Falkland (more gallantly than advisedly) spurred his horse through the gapp, where both he and his horse were immediately killed." In the charge which ensued Lord Falkland's body was trampled in the earth, and found the next morning after the battle "stript, trod upon and mangled, and could only be identified, by one who waited upon him in his chamber, by a certain mole his lordship had upon his neck."

Thus not many hours after he had left Mr. Head's house the corpse of the King's faithful secretary, statesman, philosopher, and poet, was brought off the battle-field into the town of Newbury "slung across a horse," and was finally removed from the Town Hall for interment. Tradition says that his body was found on the north edge of Wash Common, where two tall poplars have since stood. †

Though his action upon that fatal day has been regarded by some as little less than suicidal, yet it must be remembered that there were many men worthy of an honourable place in the nation's regard who were weighed down with an almost equal horror of the War in its earlier stages, and the services of such men the nation could have ill spared, while there had been any hope of moderate counsels getting a hearing. His only fault was perhaps that he was not a soldier.

But a man who could reprove the fiery Prince Rupert to his face, by telling him that "in neglecting me you neglect the King," occupied no mean position in the affairs of the nation at the outbreak of the War. In the early struggles against the priestly tendency of Laud, with the revulsion towards Presbyterianism, "Falkland," says Gardiner, "saw before Milton saw it, that 'new presbyter would be but old priest writ large.' His glory was that when other eyes persisted in seeing nothing but party divisions he had persisted in seeing England as a whole. * * History * * cannot but think of Falkland as of one whose heart was large enough to embrace all that was noble on either side. * * It sees in him a prophet whose vision of peace was too pure and too harmonious to allay the discords of his own day, and whose longings could only be satisfied by the reconciliation which was to be accomplished long after he had ceased to breathe." [*History of the Great Civil War.*]

"If his memory," says the writer of the article on Falkland in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "is never forgotten in England, it is not for what he did but for what he was. Throwing himself from side to side in party strife his mind was at least too large permanently to accept mere party watchwords, and his heart was even greater than his mind."

It is an interesting fact, apart from the possible motive for the act, that in June, 1642, two months before the King raised his standard at Nottingham, and about the time Falkland was passing through the county on his pacific errands, he sold the manor of Aldenham to Sir Job Harby, Bart., a staunch Royalist. The manor afterwards (1663) passed into the hands of the famous Parliamentarian, Denzil Holles, who held Mr. Speaker Finch in the chair while that famous resolution against Popery, etc., was passed in 1629, and who in later years became Lord Holles, of Ifeild.

The name and fame of Lord Falkland linger still in the parish of Aldenham, where there is

† On the battle-field of Newbury there now stands a handsome granite memorial to Lord Falkland. The inscriptions are cut into the four sides of a twelve ton block of granite, which is surmounted by an octagonal monolith seventeen feet high, the total height of the memorial being about 33 feet. The principal inscription is that on the north side, which reads as follows :—"In memory of those who on the 20th September, 1643, fell fighting in the Army of King Charles I., on the field of Newbury, and especially of Lucius Cary Viscount Falkland, who died here in the 34th year of his age, this monument is set up by those to whom the majesty of the Crown and the liberties of this country are dear." On the other side are appropriate quotations from the classics which Falkland loved so well. The memorial was unveiled by Lord Carnarvon in 1878, and the site for it was given by Mr. W. Money, F.S.A., author of the "History of the two Battles of Newbury," and a "History of Newbury," from which the above particulars are taken. The body of Falkland was conveyed the next morning after the battle to the Guildhall at Newbury and on the following day removed to Great Tew, Oxfordshire, and interred in the chancel of the Parish Church, as the register records :—"The 23rd day of September, A.D., 1643, the Right Honourable Sir Lucius Cary, Knight, Lord Viscount of Falkland, and Lord of the Manor of Great Tew, was Buried here."

preserved in the Parish Church a helmet commonly associated with his name. † There is also a brass tablet in the Church erected by the present Viscount Falkland to the memory of several members of the Cary family, including "Mr. Aldolphus Cary, son of Lucius, 2nd Viscount Falkland and Lord Carye, he died at the age of 2 years and was buried here Jan. xxii, 1640."

There are also hung in the vestry two prints of Lord Falkland, one of his wife, and two of his father, the first Viscount Falkland, and also one of the famous Denzil Holles, the successor in the manor of Aldenham.

Lord Falkland's poems have been collected and edited by A. B. Grossart, and were published in 1870.

THOMAS CONINGSBY OF NORTH MIMMS.

Forced to descend alive into his tomb,
A dungeon dark where he must waste the year,
And lie cut off from all his heart holds dear,
What time his injured country is a stage,
Whereon deliberate valour and the rage
Of righteous vengeance side by side appear,
Filling from morn to night the heroic scene.
* * * *
Say, can he think of this with mind serene
And silent fetters?

Thomas Coningsby, Esq., of North Mimms, whom we left in the undignified position of High Sheriff, being hustled off from St. Albans to the Tower of London by Cromwell and his soldiers, at the beginning of the hurly-burly, deserves to be placed among the foremost rank of the Royalists, though as a county man he never occupied the position in popular estimation that Lord Capel and others did. As to what his position may have been in the conflict, his fighting career was cut short too soon to enable us to judge.

Coningsby was a Royalist of what the Parliamentarians in the county would have dubbed a specially "malignant" type. Unlike Capel, who was a zealous patriot, and served the King when and because he found his opponents bent upon a revolution, Coningsby was the zealous partisan who from the first was prepared to serve the King because he was the King, and irrespective of the merits of the quarrel. If he had escaped in that affray in St. Albans Market-place, his haughty, fiery spirit would soon have brought him in conflict with the County Committee, through them to the bar of the House of Parliament, and to the Tower by another route. His rigorous levying of Ship-money for the King would have probably lessened his influence in the county, just as on the other hand it placed him among the first of Hertfordshire men upon whom Charles relied for support; but at the same time his impetuosity would have cut a notable figure in the strife had not his first adventure for the King ended so disastrously at the outset.

Thomas Coningsby, of North Mimms, was a descendant of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry VIII. Having been High Sheriff for Hertfordshire in 1637, and rendered such conspicuous service to the King over Ship-money, it is not surprising that at the outbreak of the War he should be in request for the King's service. At the end of 1642, after the Brentford fight had stirred the minds of the Hertfordshire people and elicited that remonstrance, addressed to Parliament, expressing their determination to "willingly and resolutely sacrifice their lives in this religious and just quarrel," and that they would "never lay down their arms till this which is called the King's Army be dissolved"—with this feeling so vigorously expressed by Hertfordshire men, it was necessary for the King to secure a few strong supporters in the county; and so, remembering Mr. Coningsby's former services, the King addresses to him this letter:—

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, and do hereby give you our assurance that, although we have at present made choice of you to be our High Sheriff of our County of Hertford, we have done it out of no other respect than as a mark and testimony of our favour and confidence of the utmost of your service in these times wherein we intend to employ persons of the greatest integrity and known affection to us, and the good of our Kingdom, of which you have formerly given sufficient testimony; and although it may bring upon you great expense and trouble, yet we are confident you will not value it in regard of our service, and the good of our county, which shall not be forgotten by us on all occasions.

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† The Vicar of the parish, the Rev. Kenneth F. Gibbs, writes to me on this subject:—"The helmet in question, which I have put up on an iron bracket in the Church, used to be in the Vestry; it is said to have belonged to the 1st Viscount Falkland, whose son, the famous Falkland, was killed at Newbury."

"So we bid you hearty farewell. From our Court at Reading, this 11th November, 1642."

Of how great the trouble of it was to be, Mr. Coningsby was soon to get a foretaste. That he felt highly honoured by such a communication there can be no doubt, and when a little later he, as High Sheriff, received a writ and proclamation from the Court at Oxford, declaring the Earl of Essex and his adherents traitors, he appears to have lost no time in finding an opportunity for making it known in the county, and with what result the reader has already been made acquainted. Knowing the temper of the people of the county just then, he was obliged to conceal the objects of his Commission of Array for raising forces, by giving it the character of a quasi-civil act, for the prevention of "felonies and robberies and for keeping the peace." But Lord Cranborne, the Lord Lieutenant, knew the High Sheriff too well to have been misled at such a time, even if Cromwell had not so opportunely appeared upon the scene at St. Albans.

With the High Sheriff inside the walls of the Tower of London, it was an enormous gain to the Parliamentary party, whose commands the county people and lesser officials would have less scruple in obeying, than if a High Sheriff had been on the spot. The result was that the list of High Sheriffs for the county contains for the year 1642 the significant entry—"No Sheriff because of the Wars." But Mr. Coningsby's troubles did not end with his commitment to prison. A few days afterwards there is read in the House of Lords the following : –

"Petition of Thomas Coningsby, Esq., High Sheriff for the County of Hertford. The petitioner's wife and children coming to town on Friday last in their coach to see him, one Gregson took away two of his horses by power of some warrant, which he conceives to be contrary to the ordinance of Parliament * * prays that the horses may be released." [*Lords' Journals*, vol. v. p. 646.]

The result was that Gregson was ordered to restore the horses, unless it could be shown that they were seized by the Lord General's order.

An instance of the lofty carriage of the High Sheriff occurred about the same time as the incident at St. Albans. In fact on the very same day that Mr. Coningsby was brought up from the Tower to answer at the bar of the House of Commons for the incident in St. Albans market, he was also summoned and appeared at the bar of the House of Lords to answer for some "unbefitting words" spoken by him about the Parliament. The incident was as follows :—

Robert Childe, of Berkhamsted, a trooper in Col. Goodwin's regiment had foolishly let his tongue wag about the King, using "traitorous and scandalous words in derogation and contempt of the person and dignity of the King." For the apprehending of the said Childe the King sent his warrant to the High Sheriff of Hertfordshire to attach him and send him to Oxford. Childe was, however, at Aylesbury with his regiment, and Mr. Coningsby could not apprehend him. The Earl of Salisbury sent a messenger to the High Sheriff suggesting that he should petition Parliament on the subject with a view to receiving their instructions. Mr. Coningsby, having a poor opinion of Parliament, informed the messenger that "it was below him for him to petition the Parliament," and "hereupon this House resented as a great indignity and affront to the Parliament, and ordered that the said Mr. Coningsby, High Sheriff, shall be attached and brought before the House as a delinquent." [*Lords' Journals*, vol. v.]

When brought to the bar of the House Mr. Coningsby denied the accusation and demanded the name of the informer. Mr. Kirkham, the Earl of Salisbury's messenger, then made a statement that Mr. Coningsby told him "he was vicecomes of the county of Hertford ; and, having the King's authority, it is unfit for him to petition anywhere." Mr. Coningsby now assured the House that he meant nothing to their disrespect, and he was let off with a "reprehension" and sent back to the Tower upon his former offence. As for the talkative Trooper Childe, of Berkhamsted, Parliament directed the Governors of Aylesbury to send him to Hertford Gaol to be proceeded against according to law.

At a later date, finding his imprisonment likely to be lasting, the High Sheriff again petitions from the Tower, that "he was in January last committed by the Commons a prisoner to London House, and in March following removed to the Tower, where he has ever since continued in extreme duress to the danger of his health but without any charge having been brought against him. He prays that he may be brought before their Lordships by *habeas corpus* and his case determined." [*Historical MSS. Commission Reports.*]

But the year 1643 was too full of absorbing events for Parliament to inquire into every case.

It was enough that Mr. Coningsby was out of mischief, and so he had to remain a prisoner. On the 6th March, 1645, Parliament accepted his composition upon a fine of £1,000 and discharged his estate from sequestration, but the unfortunate Royalist himself, probably unable to pay the fine, remained a prisoner. Though friends could mitigate the severity of confinement so far as bed and board were concerned, in some other respects confinement in the Tower for such a man as Mr. Coningsby must have been galling in the extreme; more especially during the first few months of his confinement, when the House ordered (April 9th, 1643) that none should "speak with him but in the keeper's presence," and further that he was "not to be allowed pen, ink, and paper."

Still, I am not quite sure, after all, that Mr. Coningsby needed all the commiseration put into the lines at the head of this notice. Though a prisoner in the Tower, there were certain indulgences that could be had for money; and, after the first rigour had been relaxed, there were fellow prisoners and occasionally news from the outside world. One can imagine the gusto with which Mr. Coningsby would enter into the telling of the following tale, and how he would chuckle over the supposed fate of the man who spoilt his own career in the St. Albans Market-place:—

"I might here relate unto you a late disaster which happened last week to Coningsby, High Sheriff, of St. Albans [*sic*], as he and some malignants and delinquents were rejoicing in the Tower over the pretended overthrow given by the enemy to Lieutenant-General Cromwell's forces, wherein they reported that he lost 2,000 men; that Cromwell himself was either slain or wounded." [*True Information*, May 13th, 1645.]

What the "disaster" was the writer does not say, but, apparently, it was the discovery by Coningsby and his fellow prisoners that their merriment had been ill-timed, and that it was simply a hoax.

Languishing in the Tower, his proud spirit broken, his home and estate seized by Parliament, and only death after ten years lingering imprisonment to come to his relief—such an experience was worse than all the fortunes of war! Thomas Coningsby died nearly ten years after that appearance in St. Albans market; not in 1653 as is stated in one of the county histories, but some time before October, 1652, as the entry in the Journals of Parliament would seem to indicate:—

October, 1652.—Upon the passing of the Bill for the sale of lands and estates forfeited to the Commonwealth for treason, it was resolved "that the name of Thomas Coningsby, late of North Myms, in the County of Hertford, be inserted in this Bill—Deceased."

Like many other family settlements of the time, Thomas Coningsby's estate at North Mimms, Herts, and Wood Ditton, in Cambs, was complicated by annual charges to different members of the family in a manner which gave the Parliament no end of trouble before they had done with it. In 1650 his wife was then petitioning for her third, and it was granted. On 21st of May, 1651, he is begging for particulars of his delinquency and sequestration, and in December, 1652, he, being dead, Martha Coningsby, his widow, and Henry and Thomas, his sons, beg the discharge of the manors of North Mimms and Wood Ditton; and the Herts Committee being able to certify that Thomas Coningsby, the younger, is not a delinquent, the claims are allowed. No end of applications upon leases and settlements followed, and the affairs of Thomas Coningsby and the Parliament wind up with the plea of Eliza Watts for her annuity of £6 13*s.* 9*d.*, bequeathed to her by her grandfather, Sir Harry Coningsby, and paid to her for near 60 years. She pleads being very aged and in great necessity. The claim was allowed, the sequestration finally discharged and the affairs of Thomas Coningsby, the Royalist High Sheriff, disappear from our view in 1654. †

† There are other glimpses of the estate of the Coningsbys, of North Mimms, in the *Reports of the Committee for Compounding*, which make it difficult to say with certainty whether Mr. Coningsby remained in the Tower till the time of his death or not. When the estate was sequestrated, the wood on North Mimms Common was let by Parliament to Roger North, and for years there were repeated scenes of riot on the Common arising out of the cutting down of timber in the interest of Thomas Coningsby, if not by his direction, and contrary to the orders of Parliament, and against the bargain made with Roger North. In 1648 the reference is to Thomas Coningsby and "others acting under him," and the workmen of one party set upon the workmen of the others. It is possible, however, that the references may be consistent with Mr. Coningsby's continued imprisonment in the Tower, or with a second imprisonment up to the time of his death.

SIR RICHARD AND LADY FANSHAWE, OF WARE PARK.—THE ROMANCE OF LOVE AND WAR!

What thou art is mine.
Our state cannot be sever'd; we are one,
One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself.
Paradise Lost.

A distinguished place among the Royalists of Hertfordshire must be assigned to the Fanshawes, of Ware Park, whose devotion to the King scarcely yields the palm even to the undaunted Capel himself; while it has, besides, a flavour of romance not unworthy to be placed beside the scenes in the *Woodstock* of Sir Walter Scott. This interest centres mainly in the two brothers Thomas and Richard, sons of Sir Henry Fanshawe, King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer. It is, however, with Richard or "Dick," as we shall know him in Royal Company hereafter, that the interest of the family in the Civil War chiefly rests; and perhaps even more than in him, in his brave, beautiful wife, Lady Anne, daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls Park, Hertford, whose narrative of her own and her husband's adventures, told with an artless eloquence, pathos, and humour, sheds a halo of romance over both their lives, and affords a true and fascinating picture of the troublous times in which their fortunes were cast. †

Richard Fanshawe, the younger of the two distinguished Royalists, was at first intended for the law and studied for that profession, but afterwards travelled abroad. He entered the diplomatic service of his country, and on his return found himself as a sworn servant of the King, upon the Civil War breaking out, taking up arms for the King, whom he attended to Oxford. To understand his romantic experience there, it is necessary to travel back to Hertford for a clue. Sir John Harrison, of Balls Park, Hertford, from a member of the Herts Parliamentary Committee at the beginning of the War had gone over to the King, warmly espoused the Royal cause, and, with other Hertfordshire families who went on a similar pilgrimage, joined the King and his Court at Oxford. The two families of Harrison and Fanshawe were already related by marriage, and one of Sir John's sons, as well as the Fanshawes, was with the King at Oxford before Sir John left the Herts County Committee to go there.

It is interesting to note that this going over to the King at Oxford, which was so common a feature of country life, and figures so frequently in the offences set out against Royalist gentry by the Parliamentary Sequestrators of their estates, did not mean simply that the head of the family, or an individual member, had gone over and placed his sword at the service of the King. It meant that generally, but very often it meant too the removal of a whole family into that crowded city, camp, and court around the King at Oxford.

In this case of the Harrisons, for instance, we find that Sir John desired that his daughters might come to him from Balls Park to Oxford. Whether from prudential motives of safety, or from a desire for their social advancement at Court, or to nurse their wounded brother, it is needless to inquire; but in that strange assemblage at Oxford, there was a social cosmos as interesting in its details, I daresay, as if no question of sanguinary strife was raging around! Even more interesting on that account, probably, was that brilliant world of soldiers, courtiers and fair ladies so strangely brought together. Here, county families met old friends and neighbours. Hither, too, came messengers bringing, at some peril often, intelligence from the old home, from relatives left behind halting between two opinions, and of the doings of Parliamentary soldiers and Committees upon their estates. In such a place the beautiful young girls from Balls Park would be an acquisition to the strange social life which other Hertfordshire families were enduring in their devotion to the Royal cause.

With drums everywhere beating, trumpets sounding and artillery booming, young Richard Fanshawe, the polished courtier and diplomatist,

† The Memoirs which Lady Fanshawe left behind in MS. have been freely drawn upon by Clutterbuck and others, but have since been published and make a most fascinating book, bearing the following title:—"Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, wife of the Right Honourable Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart., ambassador for Charles the Second to the Court of Madrid, 1665, written by herself, to which are added the correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshawe. London: Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street, 1874." These memoirs are addressed by Lady Fanshawe to her son, and in his introduction the editor, Charles Robert Fanshawe, says: "Should times, which God forbid, call for similar exertion, may the descendants of Lady Fanshawe prove that loyalty and courage did not die with her; but that those qualities still animate the hearts and steel the hands of her family—

"Like men to conquer, or like Christians fall."

met again the welcome sight of his fair young cousins from Balls Park. What the two families and other county families had to forego in the shape of comforts, to say nothing of luxuries, and to bear in the way of discomforts, is graphically told in the *Memoirs* above referred to. Here is the account of the fair young girl of only eighteen summers, taken from the quieter atmosphere of the old home at Hertford, with its wealthy surroundings and splendid hospitalities, and transplanted into the very different surroundings of an over-crowded camp and court life in Oxford :—

"My father commanded my sister and myself to come to him at Oxford, where the Court then was ; but we, who till that hour lived in great plenty and great order, found ourselves like fish out of the water, and the scene so changed that we knew not at all how to act any part but obedience ; for, from as good houses as any gentlemen in England had, we came to a baker's house in an obscure street ; and from rooms well furnished, to lie in a very bad bed in a garret, to one dish of meat, and that not the best ordered ; no money, for we were as poor as Job, nor cloaths more than a man or two brought in their cloak bags ; we had the perpetual discourse of losing and gaining towns and men ; at the windows the sad spectacle of war, sometimes plague, sometimes sickness of other kind, by reason of so many people being packed together, as I believe there never was before of that quality ; always in want, yet I must needs say, that most bore it with a martyr-like cheerfulness ; for my own part I began to think we should all, like Abraham, live in tents all the days of our lives."

Even so, and I daresay the fair young Hertfordshire lady was content with the prospect ; for was not her lover there too ? Over all the gruesome work of Mars, Cupid was already weaving a gossamer veil of romance which tempered the sterner look of things to the fair young girl. Besides the straits on the domestic side of their lot, misfortunes had to be borne, and her brother William Harrison had died in consequence of a fall from his horse, which was shot under him in a skirmish against a party of the Earl of Essex.

But love triumphed over all difficulties, and amidst the distractions of news of towns and men lost and won, and the trials and sufferings in the city and camp, Richard Fanshawe, then 35 years of age, and one of the handsomest as well as one of the most accomplished of men at the Court of King Charles, and Anne Harrison, a young girl in her 19th year, exceedingly beautiful too, if the portrait in the volume of memoirs may be trusted, met at the small village Church of Wolvercot, two miles outside Oxford, on the road to Royal Woodstock ; and, there, forgetting all the notes of discord around, were made man and wife, defying all untoward circumstances, though their entire capital, as the lady candidly admits, was only twenty pounds ! In fact, both his fortune and her own promised portion—which was made £10,000—were at that time in expectation, and "we might truly be called merchant adventurers, for the stock we set up with and traded with did not amount to £20 between us."

But though money was lacking, honours fell thick and fast upon the young couple, for in the same year Richard Fanshawe had the degree of D.C.L. conferred upon him by the University, and was appointed secretary to the Prince of Wales. But even this post of honour was to cost them more sacrifices. In March of the next year the Prince removed to Bristol and the lovers were called upon to part, just after the young wife's confinement. "It was the first time we had parted since we married," she says, "and he was extremly afflicted even to tears * * the sense of leaving me with a dying child, which did die two days after, in a garrison town, extremely weak and very poor, were such circumstances as he could not bear with, only the argument of necessity, and for my own part I was so weak that it was ten weeks before I could go alone."

Two months after they had parted (in May, 1645) she goes out for a first time to a Church, and then is gladdened with a letter from her husband with fifty gold pieces, and the welcome news that she was to go to him on the following Thursday, for she says "that gold your father sent me when I was ready to perish did not so much revive me, as his summons." After a perilous journey to Bristol, husband and wife meet and are supremely happy with each other's society, and she writes :—"Now I thought myself a perfect queen, and my husband so glorious a crown that I more valued myself to be called by his name than a born princess !"

Alas ! the plague at Bristol drove them with the Prince to the Scilly Isles, and on the way there was a mutiny among the sailors, their trunks were broken open and £60 stolen, besides gold, and valuables to the amount of £300. "Next day, after having been pillaged and extremely sick * *

I was set on shore almost dead in the Island of Scilly." Their quarters were two low rooms with two lofts above for the servants, and in one room was stored dried fish! Next morning she awoke shivering, finding her bed "near swimming in the sea." To add to their cup of bitterness, news came to them that their goods left at Bristol in a house, under the charge of one Captain Bluett, had been all plundered to the value of £100; but it was managed somehow that the Captain's own things were not touched! When the Prince left the Island, Richard Fanshawe and his wife stayed behind for a time with Lord Capel. Afterwards Mr. Fanshawe went to Caen to his brother, who was ill. His wife came to England to try and raise money, and in 1646 the brave woman succeeded in obtaining permission to compound for her husband's estate, and its release from the hands of the Herts Sequestration Committee, for the sum of £300, and permission for him to return to England.

In 1647 they lived in comparative retirement, but soon after this time occurs another of the interesting experiences recorded in Lady Fanshawe's memoirs. After the King had passed through Hertfordshire with the Army from that stormy scene at Thriplow and Royston, his Majesty went to Hampton Court, and while he was here Lady Fanshawe states that she had three audiences with his Majesty, now drawing near the end of his troubled career. Her description of these interviews and of the farewell scene recalls the romantic incident, enshrined in fiction by Sir Walter Scott, of the parting of Charles II with the fair daughter of the old valiant Sir Henry Lee, of *Woodstock*. Here is her account of their farewell of the unfortunate King:—

"The last time I ever saw him was on taking my leaf. I could not refrain from weeping, and when he saluted me I prayed God to preserve his Majesty with long life and happy years. He stroked my cheek and said 'Child, if God pleaseth it shall be so, but both you and I must submit to God's will, and you know in what hands I am.' Turning to Mr. Fanshawe he said 'Be sure, Dick (a term by which his Majesty generally spoke to Mr. Fanshawe), to tell my son all that I have said, and deliver those letters to my wife. Pray God bless her. I hope I shall do well,' and, taking him in his arms, observed 'thou hast ever been an honest man and I hope God will bless thee and make thee an happy servant of my son, whom I have charged in my letter to continue his love and trust in you,' adding, 'I do promise you that if ever I am restored to my dignity I will bountifully reward you both for your services and sufferings.' Thus did we part from that glorious sun that within a few months afterwards was murdered, to the grief of all Christians that were not forsaken by God!"

But though their Royal master was soon to close his chequered career, this interesting couple had other adventures in store. Narrowly escaping a shot fired from the Dutch fleet when about to embark at Portsmouth for Paris in 1648, they are next found in Ireland, at Cork, and Mrs. Fanshawe (near her confinement) passes through another strange adventure. Staying at Red Abbey, the house of Dean Boyle, within a few weeks she heard the news of the death of her son Henry, and the landing of Cromwell, "who so hotly marched over Ireland that the fleet with Prince Rupert was forced to set sail and lost all his riches." The Fanshawes remained. Mrs. Fanshawe had broken her wrist by a fall from her horse, and while lying in bed with this, her husband being away at Kinsale, in the beginning of November, 1650, Cromwell's troops appeared before Cork, compelling it to surrender, of which she gives this graphic picture:—

"At midnight I heard the great guns go off, and thereupon I called up my family to rise, which I did as well as I could in that condition. Hearing lamentable shrieks of men, women and children, I asked at the window the cause; they told me they were all Irish, stripped and wounded, aud turned out of the town, and that Colonel Jefferies and some others had possessed themselves of the town, for Cromwell. Upon this I immediately wrote a letter to my husband, blessing God's providence that he was not there with me, persuading him to patience and hope that I should get safely out of the town by God's assistance, and desired him to shift for himself for fear of the surprise, with the promise that I would secure his papers."

Having sent this letter by a faithful servant, let down by the garden wall of Red Abbey; packed up her husband's cabinet with all his writings and near one thousand pounds in gold and silver, the brave lady, with her broken wrist, next thought of the safety of herself and family.

"In the morning by the light of a taper, and in that pain I was in, I went into the Market Place with only a man and a maid, and passing through an unruly tumult with their swords in their hands, searched for their chief commander Jefferies, who, whilst he was loyal, had received many civilities from your father. * * * He

instantly wrote me a pass both for myself, family and goods, and said he would never forget the respect he owed your father. With this I came through thousands of naked swords to Red Abbey and hired the next neighbour's cart, which carried all that I could remove, and myself, sister, and little girl Nan, with three maids and two men set forth at five o'clock [in the morning] in November, having but two horses amongst us all, which we rid on by turns."

She adds that £100 worth of goods were left behind at Red Abbey, which were plundered, and that they went the ten miles to Kinsale in perpetual fear of being fetched back again!

"But by little and little, I thank God we got safe to the garrison, where I found your father the most disconsolate man in the world for fear of his family, which he had no possibility of assisting; but his joys exceeded, to see me and his darling daughter, and to hear the wonderful escape we, through the assistance of God, had made."

When the affair was reported to Cromwell he immediately asked where Mr. Fanshawe was, and being told he had gone to Kinsale demanded where his papers and his family were. "At which they all stared one at another but made no reply. Their General said 'it was as much worth to have seized his papers as the town, for I did make account to have known by them what these parts of the country were worth.'"

Mr. Fanshawe followed the Prince again, and after an unfruitful mission to Spain to raise means for the Royal cause, he, while his wife was taking up her residence at Ware Park, acted as secretary to Charles II, and accompanied him to Scotland, and on that eventful march to the battle of Worcester. Here he, with his brother, Sir Thomas Fanshawe, was taken a prisoner in the famous battle from which Charles II escaped in that romantic manner which gave an immortality to the Royal Oak. Mrs. Fanshawe was at Ware Park with a baby two months old when the news came of the battle of Worcester. After some days of terrible suspense as to his fate she learns that her husband is taken a prisoner, that he will shortly be brought to London, and that he has appointed a place to see her near Charing Cross, where she is only to see him for a short time. The narrative of the meeting of husband and wife and what followed is full of pathos, and even of humour, and affords a rare example of domestic love and fidelity, simply but beautifully expressed. At the place of meeting, in a room near Charing Cross, with her father, Sir John Harrison, and some friends, waiting for the interview, she thus describes the scene of the arrival of the prisoners from the battle of Worcester, and her husband's account of what happened on the way.

"We saw hundreds of poor soldiers, both English and Scotch, marching all naked and on foot, and many on horseback. At last came the captain and two soldiers with your father. He was very cheerful in appearance. After he had spoken to me and saluted me and his friends he said: 'Pray let us not lose time, for I know not how little I have to spare. This is the chance of war; nothing venture nothing have, and so let us sit down and be merry whilst we may.' Then, taking my hand and kissing me, he said, 'cease weeping; no other thing on earth can move me; remember we are all at God's disposal.' Then he told us how kind the captain had been to him; that the people as he passed offered him money and brought him good things, and particularly Lady Dynham, at Boston [Borstal] House † would have given him all the money she had in the house, but he returned her thanks and told her that he had so ill kept his own, and he would not tempt his governor with more, but that if she would give him a shirt or two and a few handkerchiefs he would keep them as long as he could for her sake. She fetched him some shifts of her own and some handkerchiefs, saying that she was ashamed to give them to him, but having none of her son's shirts at home she desired him to wear them."

After this short interview Mr. Fanshawe was taken prisoner to Whitehall, where the close confinement for ten weeks, following his long marches and hardships, brought him so low, lying there all the while "under the expectation of death," that he was "almost at death's door." Then follows this crowning touch of heroic womanhood:—

"During the time of his imprisonment I failed not constantly when the clock struck four in the morning to go with a dark lanthorn in my hand, all alone and on foot, from my lodgings in Chancery Lane to Whitehall by the entry that went out of King's Street into the Bowling Green. There I would go, under his window and call him softly. He, excepting the first time, never afterwards failed to put out his head at the

† Borstal House, the Royalist stronghold, which had given so much trouble to and been captured by the Parliamentary forces, was at this time in the hands of its rightful owner.

first call. Thus we talked together, and sometimes I was so wet with rain that it went in at my neck and out at my heels."

> What will not woman, gentle woman, dare
> When strong affection stirs her spirit up?

Faithfully and untiringly the noble woman pressed the claims of her sick husband, and getting the ear of Cromwell, who she says "had a great respect for your father and would have bought him off to his service on any terms"—at last she obtained his release on the ground of his health, on bail in a bond of four thousand pounds.

When her husband was at last able to leave England for Paris, concealing his real errand under the pretence of travelling abroad with the son of the Earl of Pembroke, he left Mrs. Fanshawe behind, but again the brave woman was equal to the occasion. Going to Wallingford House, where passes were granted to persons travelling abroad, in order to follow her husband she says: "I dressed in as plain a way and speech as I could devise (leaving my maid at the gate, who was a much finer gentlewoman than myself) with as ill a mien and tone as I could express I told the fellow that I found in the office that I desired a pass to Paris to go to my husband."

When the fellow in the office demanded of her what her husband was and what was her name, she played her part by informing him "with many curtsies" that her husband was a young merchant and her name was Harrison [her maiden name]. She thus succeeded in obtaining a pass for herself, her man, maid servant and three children. The official, little knowing whom he was serving, told her that "a malignant (one of the King's party) would give him five pounds for such a pass." Carrying off the pass to her lodgings she cleverly altered the letters of the name into "Fanshawe," obtained a barge, reached Gravesend by six o'clock at night, travelled thence to Dover by coach, crossed to Paris and joined her husband, who had been knighted by Charles II., then at Breda.

Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe returned to England at the Restoration, and Lady Fanshawe was among the first to meet the Prince at Whitehall, and to offer her congratulations to him as Charles II., as she had done her prayers under such very different circumstances on leaving his royal father at Hampton Court. Upon this occasion Sir Richard was presented with the King's (Charles II.) portrait set in diamonds, and had the further good fortune to be the first Member returned to Parliament after the King came home, being returned for the University of Cambridge, an honour "which cost him no more than a letter of thanks and two brace of bucks and twenty pieces of gold to buy them wine." Who the party was that received the price of the seat Lady Fanshawe does not state, but she evidently regarded the election as one of the smoothest passages in the eventful life of her husband.

After the Restoration, Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe went to the Court of Spain, to which Sir Richard was sent as Ambassador. The splendour of their reception, and the high honours paid to her husband (whose distinguished Spanish scholarship made him very popular) and to herself on their arrival, and while residing there, form an interesting chapter in Lady Fanshawe's charming memoirs. Sir Richard died of a malignant fever only fifteen days before his expected return to England. His body was embalmed and conveyed to England accompanied by his widow, and landed at the Tower of London on the 12th November, 1666. The body was afterwards conveyed to All Saints' Church, at Hertford, where it was placed in the vault of Sir John Harrison, his father-in-law, and in 1671 it was removed to Ware and placed in the Chapel of St. Mary in the Ware Parish Church, and a monument of white marble was erected there to his memory, with the arms of the Fanshawes and those of the Harrisons impaled, and upon which is inscribed in Latin a tribute to his virtues, his culture, and his public services and worth.

But the best tribute that could ever be paid to any man, whether in those distracted times or any other age, is that penned by Lady Fanshawe, his wife; for, unaffected and sincere, it discloses a degree of felicity in wedded and family life which survived all the trials and misfortunes of a trying time.

"He was," says Lady Fanshawe, "of the highest size of men, strong, and of the best proportion, his complexion sanguine, his skin exceeding fair, his hair dark brown, and very curling, but not very long; his eyes grey and very penetrating; his nose high, his countenance gracious, and wise, his motion good, his speech clear and distinct. He never used exercise but walking, and that generally with some book in his hand, which oftentimes was poetry, in which he spent his idle hours; sometimes he would ride out to take the air, but his most delight was to go only with me in a coach some miles, and there discourse of those things which most pleased him,

of what nature so ever. He was very obliging to all, and forward to serve his master, his country and friend; chearful in his conversation, his discourse ever pleasant, mixed with the sayings of wise men and their histories, repeated as occasion offered; yet so reserved that he never showed the thought of his heart in its greatest sense, but to myself only; and this I thank God with all my soul for, that he never discovered his trouble to me, but went from me with perfect chearfulness and content; nor revealed he his joys and hopes, but he would say they were doubled by putting them in my breast. I never heard him hold dispute in my life, but often he would speak against it, saying it was an uncharitable custom, which never turned to the advantage of either party. * * He was a true Protestant of the Church of England, so born, so brought up, and so died. His conversation was so honest that I never heard him speak a word in my life that tended to God's dishonour, or encouragement of debauchery or sin. He was ever much esteemed by his two masters, Charles the First and Charles the Second, both for great parts and honesty, as for his conversation, in which they took great delight, he being so free from passion that made him beloved of all that knew him; nor did I ever see him moved but with his master's concerns, in which he would hotly pursue his interest through the greatest difficulties. He was the tenderest father imaginable, the carefullest and most generous master I ever knew; he loved hospitality, and would often say it was wholly essential for the Constitution of England, he loved and kept order with the greatest decency possible; and though he would say I managed his domestics wholly, yet I ever governed them and myself by his commands, in the managing of which, I thank God, I found his approbation and content."

Lady Fanshawe bore Sir Richard a large family of fourteen children, six sons and eight daughters, besides six that were stillborn. The career of this brave, courageous woman, affords a striking instance of what many a lady of high degree endured patiently, driven to the necessity of taking care of herself and family and nobly standing by the interests of her imprisoned husband. In many respects it compares singularly with that of the beautiful Lady Margaret Verney, wife of Sir Ralph Verney, who spent some time at Gorhambury with Lady Sussex, when Sir Ralph was under a cloud through not seeing his way to take the Covenant.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe, brother of Sir Richard, was knighted at the Coronation of Charles I. He was, as we have seen, one of the King's Commissioners of Array in Hertfordshire, and had well prepared himself in arms for the War when the Parliamentary troops made that raid upon Ware Park at the beginning of the War. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Worcester, and he and his son suffered imprisonment and had their estates sequestrated.

At the Restoration he was chosen Member for the county, and in 1661 was created Viscount Fanshawe of Drommore. His eldest son also became knighted as Sir Thomas Fanshawe, sat in Parliament for Hertford, and married the daughter and heir of John Skinner, of Hitchin, whose name still appears upon the front of the Almshouses in that town which were erected soon after the Restoration. This young Sir Thomas was concerned in the Royalist rising in Hertfordshire, with the Leventhorpes of Sawbridgeworth, in 1659. Simeon Fanshawe, brother of Sir Richard, also got into the hands of the sequestrators.

SIR JOHN HARRISON, OF BALLS PARK.

Sir John Harrison, of Balls Park, Hertford, a man of enormous wealth, was at first as useful to Parliament with his influence and his money as he afterwards was to the King. He was Member of Parliament for Lancaster, and his son William sat for Queenborough. At the very beginning of the War, William went over to the King on his setting up his standard at Nottingham. While sitting in Parliament in 1641 the young Member for Queenborough, writes his sister, Lady Fanshawe, "undertook for my father to lend £150,000 to pay the Scots, who then had entered England, and it seems were to be both paid and prayed to go home." This immense sum to be advanced by a single individual was sufficient to cripple even a wealthy man like Sir John, who had to wait till the Restoration of the King for the payment of his debt, and his daughter, Lady Fanshawe, had to wait for her portion of £10,000, and marry Richard Fanshawe on that small joint capital of £20 already referred to.

Though placed upon the Hertfordshire Committee for the Parliament, Sir John Harrison must have very soon followed the example of Lord Capel; for, before the end of 1642, as soon in fact as the dissensions had assumed the stern phase of actual war, he openly espoused the Royal cause, and at the outset narrowly escaped the hard fate of Mr. Coningsby, the High

Sheriff. He was made a prisoner in his own London residence at Montague House, in Bishopsgate-street. Unlike Thomas Coningsby, whose former rigorous levying of Ship-money made him unpopular, Sir John Harrison had apparently served the country as Farmer of the Customs with satisfaction, and found his former service to the King the means of his escape. The Parliamentary officers guarding his house demanded of him certain papers respecting his accounts of the Customs, and under the pretence of going to fetch these he effected his escape. In the following year, 1643, he made his way to the King at Oxford, and was expelled from his seat as a Member of Parliament for Lancaster, and his estates were seized.

In 1644 he sent for his daughters to Oxford, as already described, and of the part he played there his daughter writes in her *Memoirs* :—"The King sent my father a warrant for a Baronet, but he returned it with thanks, saying 'he had too much honour of his knighthood which his Majesty had honoured him with some years before, for the fortune he possessed.'"

After he left Oxford it is on record in the *Royalist Composition Papers* [Public Record Office] that when in the West of England in August, 1645, he endeavoured to render himself up to be dealt with by Parliament, but, being "where the King's forces were, was obliged to go into France." In 1646 he compounds for his delinquency "in deserting Parliament and adhering to forces raised against it." At first the fine imposed upon him for relieving his estates (being considerable) was a very heavy one. On the 5th January, 1648 (or, present style, 1649), we find Lady Mary Harrison, his wife, in a petition to Parliament, "begs that until the weighty affairs of the Kingdom [the impending trial of the King, &c.] permit the House of Commons to consider her husband's petition and give him absolute discharge, that she may have the house in county Herts called Balls, which stands empty, as Mr. Rolles makes little or no use of it, or the gardens and orchards, and she is altogether destitute of habitation and means for providing for herself and children."

In July following is recorded a "Petition from Sir John Harrison and resolution passed that this House doth accept the fine of £1000 for taking off the delinquency of Sir John Harrison, knight."

The beautiful house at Balls Park, to which Sir John's wife begged Parliament to allow her and her children to return, had only been erected by Sir John just before the commencement of the War. It was to see "Sir John Harrison's house new built" that Evelyn visited Hertford, as he records in his *Diary* for 16th March, 1643; a house which Chauncy also describes as a "fair and stately fabric, every side equally fronted, and exactly uniform; the ceilings wrought with several and distinct patterns of fretwork, the steps in the great staircase wainscotted in panes, the hall paved with black and white marble, and the whole edifice standing towering upon a hill commanding a pleasant and delicious prospect."

At the Restoration he had his employment and estates restored to him, and he continued in the quiet possession of his home at Balls Park until his death, which took place in 1669. His daughter says that he was "a handsome gentleman of great natural parts, a great accomptant, of vast memory, and an incomparable penman, of great integrity and service to his Prince, had been a member of five Parliaments, a good husband and father, especially to me, who never can sufficiently praise God for him, nor acknowledge his most tender affection and bounty to me and mine."

Whatever view the inhabitants of Ware and Hertford may have taken of the Royalist ardour of the Fanshawes of Ware Park and the Harrisons of Balls Park, connected by several intermarriages—Sir John Harrison himself having first married a Fanshawe—abundant evidence was left of their kindly disposition towards the people amongst whom they lived, for whose benefit, and for the benefit of their children's children, numerous charitable bequests were left by these two families, especially by the Harrisons at Hertford.

Sir John was buried in a vault in All Saints' Church, Hertford, † but his widow, Lady Mary,

† The following is a copy of the memorial to Sir John Harrison placed upon the South Wall of the chancel of All Saints' Church, Hertford, but in modern spelling:—

"Hereunder lieth interred the body of Sir John Harrison, Knight, late of Balls, within this county and parish, who departed this life the 28th of September in the year of Christ 1669, and in the 80th year of his age; who in the whole course of that large time of his mortality was an admired example of piety, integrity, and moderation; and amongst the various and considerable employments which his industrious and prudent temper put him upon, and conducted him through, was always very eminent in his loyalty to his King, and love to his country, having served King Charles the

lived to see another revolution, which, though less sanguinary, was scarcely less momentous in its results, and died in the year 1705, "full of days and good works," at the great age of 93.

COLONEL SILAS TITUS.—PARLIAMENTARIAN AND ROYALIST.

To give the rebel dogs their due,
Where the roaring shot poured thick and hot,
They were stalwart men and true.

These lines from an old Cavalier song embody at once the contempt and the solid respect for the Parliamentary troopers which were strangely mingled in the breasts of the Royalists; and no man knew better how to appreciate this dual character of "the rebel dogs" and "the stalwart men and true" than he whose name stands at the head of this notice. He, at any rate, had played both characters by turns, and for this reason there is some difficulty in deciding into which camp he should be placed. The facts that he came out ultimately as a Royalist, and that more is known of his doings in that capacity than as a Parliamentarian, are the chief reasons for assigning him the position of a Royalist. Silas, or Silus, Titus saw a good deal of both sides in the struggle, and his was a career brim full of adventure; some of it of a romantic kind, and some displaying an independence of character which placed him in a curious light. Born at Bushey, he had just come home from a three years' residence at Oxford, and had entered at the Inns of Court when those memorable streams of Hertfordshire Knights and freeholders went up in their thousands to assert the rights of the people and the privileges of their representatives in Parliament. For young Titus legal studies had no longer a sufficient interest to hold him back. Throwing himself into the fray with all the ardour of a young man of spirit, we soon find him a captain in the Parliamentary Army. In that critical summer of 1644 he was doing yeoman's service with those of the Hertfordshire forces who went to serve out of their county and who did not run away from their colours.

Among the many stubborn sieges around Royalist strongholds none was more famous than the attacks, again and again renewed and as often repulsed, upon the massive, battered towers and keep of Donnington Castle, just outside Newbury, held by the redoutable Sir John Boys, whose answers to the Parliamentary challenges to surrender are among the choice epigrams of history. † It was before this famous old Donnington Castle that Captain Titus, in command of a company of Hertfordshire soldiers, wrote the following characteristic letter to Col. Alban Cox, his superior officer in Hertfordshire:—

"For my much-honoured ffreinde Alban Cox. These present.

"Sir,—My monie being expired, according to your order I addressed myself to my Lorde of Manchester. His lordship told me that two

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First as a Farmer of his Customs, and in other weighty affairs, and his native place of Lancaster as a member of three Parliaments in the King's reign, in the last whereof (called in the year 1640) by his strenuous adherence to his sovereign and the established laws of the land against the violence of an unnatural Civil War he did deeply share in his King and country's calamities; sometimes by a voluntary exile and always by an illegal sequestration and detention from plentiful properties and possessions, until by the happy and peaceful restoration of his present Majesty King Charles the Second, in Anno 1660, he was most justly and meritoriously restored to his former condition of Commissioner and Farmer of his Customs and to the trust of a Member of Parliament for his native place aforesaid, and then after nine years peaceably passed, happily and lamentedly finished the period of his long and well-spent life: to whose worth and memory his dearly loving wife and relict, Dame Mary Harrison, erected this memorial."

To the above is added the following to the memory of Lady Mary Harrison:—

"She, who formerly erected this monument, obtained at length what she often prayed for, to be dissolved that she might be blessed with Christ, though not until the age of almost 93 years, she dying on the 14th day of February, 1705, full of days and good works, which are a monument more durable than marble or brass. Her remains rest in a neighbouring vault in hope of a glorious resurrection."

The destruction of these monuments by the recent burning down of All Saints' Church will, the writer feels sure, be accepted by the reader as a sufficient reason for placing the inscriptions on record in a work of this kind.

† When, in 1644, the Parliamentary Commander summoned Sir John Boys to surrender the Castle (about three weeks after Capt. Titus wrote his letter), and threatened that if he did not they "would not leave one stone upon another," the gallant Royalist coolly sent back answer, "If so I am not bound to repair it;" and when a second summons was accompanied by an offer to allow him to march out with all arms and ammunition, he courageously replied:—"Carry away the Castle walls themselves if you can; but with God's help I am resolved to keep the ground they stand on till I have orders from the King my Master to quit, or I will die upon the spot."

months not being yet out, I was to expect my pay from the Committee, and to that purpose he hath written to them this enclosed : (Sir), with that monie I have received, I have paide all the officers a month's pay, and made an indifferent shift to satisfie the soldiers hitherto. Now I am quite empty, and have nothing to encourage the soldiers in theire hardshippe with such duty and cold quarters, makes not a little. Here is nothing to be had without present monie ; and as yet wee have not founde that great zeal in Newberry to this cause. I am sure they do not expresse it in theire forwardnesse to accommodate the soldiers. (Sir), If I can have a moneth's pay more for my officers, and the other fortnight's pay (to come) for my soldiers, I shall not trouble the Committee further. (Sir), I desire that you will take the paines to send me an answeare, and I shall esteeme it one of the maine engagements, I have to be,

Sir, your most affectionate servant,

S. TITUS.

"Donnington, Oct. 7th, 1644.

"For newes (Sir), our Hertfordshire soldiers are pretty well vers't in the severall soundes of bullets, and are farre more confident than they were at first. The Castle is much battered, and if reliefe come not, will suddenly be streitened. I have had about ten shott in my compainie, but none killed or maimed. The King hastens to Bristol. † "

We hear but little of Capt. Titus further till the time when a great many were wavering between the King and the growing Independent force in the Army ; in fact, till the King was so adroitly carried off from Holdenby by Cornet Joyce, but from that time Captain Titus gets fairly into the swim of congenial adventure. It was Captain Titus who conveyed to the Houses of Parliament the astounding news of the King being carried off by Cornet Joyce from Holdenby to the Army at Newmarket, and on this occasion the House voted him £50 "to buy a horse for his great service ;" little thinking the direction in which Capt. Titus was likely to ride !

Whether Titus found the attraction of personal contact with the King too much to withstand I know not, but it did happen that the first signs of a change from Parliamentarian to Royalist were manifested soon after Titus had come in contact with the King at Holdenby ; in fact, he had scarcely benefited by that special honorarium from Parliament of a horse for bringing the news from Holdenby before Cromwell's keen scent for treachery began to suspect Titus as one of those about the King's person who could not be trusted ; a suspicion which was abundantly justified by the change from Parliamentary Captain to the confidential servant of the King, disclosed in the letters quoted below.

From this time Capt. Titus appears to have been one of the party in attendance upon the King. It was by means of secret correspondence between the King and his now loyal henchman, Capt. Titus, that the attempt was made for an escape from Carisbrook Castle, and the affair was progressing so favourably that the King had good reason to place reliance upon Capt. Titus for his fidelity and discretion. The following is, apparently, one of the first letters from the King on the subject of the attempted escape, and it has a peculiar significance in the light of the previous career of Titus.

"Capt. Titus. Let those officers you tould me of know, that, as my necessity is now greater than ever ; so, what seruice shall be done me now, must have the first place in my thoughts, wheneuer I shall be in a condition to requite my Friends and pitty my Ennimies. I command you (when you can doe it without hazard either to your selfe or them) that you send me in particular, the names of those who, you thus finde sensible of their duty, and resolved to discharge the parts of true Englishmen ; lastly asseure euery one, that, with me, present seruices wipes out former falts. So I rest,

Your asseured Friend,

CHARLES, R.

For Capt. Titus."

Of the desperate straits of the King in his attempts at escape from Carisbrook Castle, and of the intimate relation of Captain Titus with his Majesty in the secret, the following letter, written to Titus by the King in a feigned hand, is conclusive evidence—

W. I have beene considering the Bar of my Window, and fynde that I must cut it in two places ; for that place where I must cut it above, I can hyde it with the leade that tyes the glasse ; but there is nothing that can hyde the lower part ; wherefor, I conceave it cannot but be discovered if I have it off when I have once begun it ; and how to make but one labour of it, having no other instrument but such as I sent

† Clutterbuck quotes this letter from the original in the possession of Thomas Kinder, Esq., to whom Beaumonts, the then residence of Alban Cox, afterwards belonged.

you, I cannot yet conceave ; but if I had a forcer, I could make my way well anufe ; or if you could teach me how to make the fyre-shovell and tongues supply that place ; which I believe not impossible. Of this (I meane, how to remove the Bar) I desyre to be resolved before you goe ; wherefor I pray you give me an answer to this as soone as you can ; for I believe our maine Business depends upon it.

I."

"I pray you 577 : 359 : 117 : 343 : 279 : 20 : 356 : ffor W."

The handwriting of the King is very well concealed, though there are not wanting points where, upon close inspection, the fine linear writing of Charles comes out in the older and more angular Jacobean style adopted by the Royal prisoner. That picturesque little postscript in cipher is, I imagine, an instance of the ingenuity of John Barwick, who was later on to be made Rector of Therfield, Herts, and to whose close attendance the King was indebted for much valuable service in this line ; the cipher used in these secret transactions being Barwick's invention.

The following letter, also written in a feigned hand, shows how the secret negociations over that obstinate iron window bar of the King's chamber in the Castle were progressing.

"W. This being a business of action and not of words, I will be verrie brife ; and I were much too blame, if I were otherwais ; for I really (to my judgment) it is so well layed that I have but one particular to make a quere upon (after thryce reading over your papers) which is, whether I shall have tyme anufe, after I have supt, and before I goe to bed, to remove the bar ; for if I had a forcer, I would make no question of it, but having nothing but fyles, I much dout that my time will be too scant ; wherefore I desyre to be well instructed in it ; which being adjusted, I know nothing to be mended in your paper. But you know there must be terminus ad quem, as well as terminus a quo ; therefore I desyre to know whither you intend that I should goe after I am over the water ? I desyre you to answer this paper as soone as you can, henceforth I will go eearly to bed."

Whether Captain Titus was at fault in conveying his instructions to the King ; whether the "fyre-shovell and tongues" were effective enough as a "forcer," or whether the Captain was a competent teacher of the King in the best use to make of those homely weapons, I know not, but one thing is as certain as history can make it, viz., though good use was made of the "fyles," his Majesty, to the consternation of other Englishmen besides Captain Titus, was found stuck fast between the bars of his window, and the history of England was, I daresay, modified by that simple issue. The King was not the only person who fared worse for the failure of the plot. These were times when men could not be relied upon with any degree of certainty, and Cromwell, having put down the Levellers in Corkbush-field, has found out by that marvellous intelligence department of his that Titus is "playing the fox," and so he writes to "Dear Robin," otherwise Col. Robert Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight :—"Intelligence came to the hands of a very considerable person that the King attempted to get out of his window ; and that he had a cord of silk with him whereby to slip down, but his breast was so big the bar would not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way and slipped down. The guards that night had some quantity of wine with them. * * He saith that Captain Titus and some others about the King are not to be trusted. * * The gentleman that came out of the window was Master Firebrace ; the gentlemen doubted are Cresset, Burrowes and Titus."

This little incident was enough to blast the reputation of anyone so closely connected with the person of the King as Titus was, and being charged with high treason he fled out of the country. Henceforth the former Parliamentary Captain must be considered an open Royalist, though still preserving a certain independent notion of doing things in his own way which adds interest to the adventures which yet remained to him. The King did not forget the faithful services of Titus, and when upon the scaffold at Whitehall he recommended him, through Archbishop Juxon, to the protection of his son and successor, Charles II. In 1651, information reaches the Committee in London that Titus' mother allowed him to convey to Holland £100 out of his own estate of £180 a year from houses in London ; and from this time forward he is actively engaged in the interest of Charles II, crossing and recrossing the sea whenever such an act was possible.

In 1657 we find Titus playing the part of pamphleteer to some purpose. Having lost his Royal master on the scaffold, he, under the name of William Allen, is credited with having published the pamphlet entitled "Killing no Murder,"—"a noisy pamphlet much noised of in

those months, and afterwards," says Carlyle, in which he sought to show that the killing of the Protector would be a lawful and meritorious act. Cromwell is said to have been much affected by the pamphlet, became gloomy and suspicious, seldom slept twice in the same bed, and carried firearms.

The next prominent scene in which Titus figures reads like a page from Ainsworth. It is at a well-known tavern in London where Royalists were known to meet, and where Titus is in company with Firebrace. Cromwell has found out not only who was the author of the noisy pamphlet, but also where Titus could be found. Accordingly a "trusty officer" is despatched to the Tavern with soldiers to effect his arrest. But "there's many a slip"—for, at a time which tried the temper of men enough to upset all calculations of diplomacy, this "trusty officer" seems to have possessed a private as well as an official conscience, and in meeting the demands of both we see him obtaining admission to the Tavern by assuring the master of the place that "he had come to save and not to take away the lives of his guests." Once in the room where Captain Titus and Firebrace were, the trusty officer first discharges his private conscience by throwing his red cloak over his head and calling out—"If Titus and Firebrace be in the room, let them escape for their lives this instant!" Such a message did not need repeating, and by the time the officer had thrown off his cloak, assumed his stern official demeanour and called in his soldiers, Titus and Firebrace had made their escape through the window of the apartment, were already mounted on their horses, and anon were clattering along the high road for Scotland, where Captain Titus joined General Monk!

If the horse referred to below was the one Titus bought with the gratuity from Parliament, it was only another of the strange turns in the wheel of fortune favoured by the times.

"Order of the Committee for compounding, on the information that there is a study of books and a horse belonging to Captain [Silas] Titus, now with the King of Scotland [Charles II.] in Scotland, not yet seized, that they be secured and appraised, and that the landlord of the King's Arms, Holborn, who has the horse, be indemnified for delivering it up."

When the Restoration came, though the late King was no longer on the scene to "requite his friends and pitty his ennimies," his recommendation of Captain Titus to his son's consideration was not forgotten, and in the righting of old scores, and the table-turning of that memorable spring of 1660, Captain Titus and his faithful services to Charles I were officially recognised by his appointment as Groom of the Bed Chamber, and he was given the Commission of Colonel. The warrant of Charles II. for that appointment contains such an eloquent enumeration of Colonel Titus' services, and withal brings out another memorable business in which he was engaged, that it is well worth reproducing here. The warrant is addressed to Sir Edmund Walker, Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms.

"Whereas we have taken into our royall consideration the many heroick, signall, and loyall services performed by our trusty and well-beloved subject and seruant Silius Titus, esq., one of the groomes of our Bed Chamber, not only unto our royall father King Charles the First of ever blessed memory, but unto ourselfe; particularly that in the years 1646, 1647, 1648, he was by our royall father entrusted in his affayres of greatest importance, both in relation to his restitution and in order to his escape out of the captivity he was held in by the rebels, for which he was by them charged with high treason and forced to fly beyond the seas. After which, as the highest testimony of our royall father's justice and confidence, he did, even at the time of his execrable murder, and upon the accursed scaffold, recommend him, the said Sylas Titus, and his singular fidelity unto us, by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, then assisting, who happily lived to declare the same; since when, even unto our happy restoration, wee, being as highly satisfied with his great prudence, loyalty and zeale to our service, have entrusted and employed him in our most private affairs and designs, whereby he was exposed to the greatest dangers, had his estate confiscated by the rebels, and was by an act of theirs condemned of high treason; nothwithstanding which he crossed the seas in order to our service about twenty times, and by his penn and practices against the Usurper Oliver, vigorously endeavoured the destruction of that tyrant and his government. And after our restoration (being then a member of Parliament) he did as vigorously pursue to justice the accursed regicides; and by his motion the carcases of Oliver Cromwell, Bradshawe and Ireton were taken up out of our royall chapell at Westminster, drawne to Tibourne, there hanged, then buried under the gallows, and the heads sett upon Westminster Hall; for which and other services and sufferings he has three thousand pounds voted to

him by the two Houses of Parliament, in such terms as the honour thereof was equal to the gift.

"All which considered cannot but esteeme him most highly worthy of merit from us some such signall marke and honorary ensignes of armes in testimony of our grace and favour, as may be bourne and used by him and his posterity. Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby require you * * to grant and assigne unto the said Sylas Titus * * the additional coat of armes here after exprest, viz.: Or upon a chiefe imbattelled Gules, a lion of England, pasant gardant Or; to be bourne and used by him and his descendants in the first place quarterly together with the armes of his family; and for so doing this shall be youre sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the — day of ——— in the 17th year of our reigne."

Carlyle's suggestion that Saxby may have written "Killing no Murder" and his innuendo that Titus may have taken credit for it to win favour at Court, lose some of their force by the testimony of Charles II. that Titus "by his penn and practices vigorously endeavoured the destruction of that tyrant." It is true that Charles II. while at Breda was not in a position to know for certain, but for his testimony to the part played by Titus in getting the bodies of Cromwell and others removed to Tyburn he was a competent witness, and that part was at least in perfect harmony with the authorship of the "noisy pamphlet," *Killing no Murder*. †

Colonel Titus lived to become a member of Parliament for his native county of Hertford (1678), but moved by the "no popery" sentiment of those times soon lost favour at Court by opposing the royal prerogative. In 1686 he became member for Huntingdon, and again distinguished himself for his faithful adherence to the old Protestant lines by voting for the Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the Succession. It was on that occasion that Titus justified his vote by a speech in which he delivered the apt and famous lines—

> I hear a lion in the Lobby roar,
> Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door?
> Or do you rather chuse to let him in?
> But how then shall we get him out again?

We know that they did eventually let him in, preferring a Papist lion to a bastard, and also

† *Killing no Murder: Briefly discoursed in thres Questions.*—"And all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet after that they had slain Athaliah with the sword.—2 Chron. xxiii 21." The text of the pamphlet is preceded by a letter addressed "to his Highness Oliver Cromwell," in which the writer sets out his purpose in the following mixture of candour and irony:—"To your Highness justly belongs the honour of dying for the people and it cannot choose but be an unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life to consider with how much benefit to the world you are like to leave it. * * You are the true father of your country, for while you live we can call nothing ours and it is from your death that we hope for our inheritance. Let this fortify your Highnesse's mind and the terrors of your evil conscience, that the good you will do by your death will somewhat balance the evils of your life, and if in the black catalogue of high malefactors few can be found that have lived more to the afflictions and disturbance of mankind than your Highness hath done; yet your greatest enemies will not deny, but there are likewise as few that have expired more to the universal benefit of mankind than your Highness is like to do. To hasten this great good is the chief end of my writing this paper, and if it have the effects I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of reach of men's malice * * * Amongst all that put in their requests and supplications for your Highness's speedy deliverance from all earthly troubles none is more assiduous nor more fervent than he that (with the rest of the nation) hath the honour to be * * your Highness's present slave and vassal," &c.

Then there follows a spirited address to "those officers and soldiers of the Army that remember the engagements and dare to be honest. Could ever England have thought to have seen that Army that was never mentioned without the titles of religious, zealous, faithful, courageous—the fence of her liberty at home and the terror of her enemies abroad—become jailors; not her guard but her oppressors, not her soldiers, but her tyrant's executioners, drawing to blocks and gibbets all that dare be honester than themselves? This you do, and this you are, nor can you redeem your honour * * if you let not speedily the world see that you have been deceived, which they will only then believe when they see your vengeance upon his faithless head that did it. To let you see that you may do this as a lawful action and to persuade you to it as a glorious one, is the principle intent of this following paper. This is from one that was once amongst you and will be so again when you dare to be as you were."

The writer then proceeds with his main argument whether the Protector is a tyrant or not; if he be, whether it is lawful to do justice upon him and kill him, and if it be lawful, whether it is likely to prove profitable or noxious to the Commonwealth. The conclusion has no uncertain sound—"his bed, his table, is not secure, and he stands in need of other guards to defend him; death and destruction pursue him wherever he goes. He shall flee from the iron weapon and a bow of steel shall strike him through; though his Excellency mount up to the Heavens and his head reacheth unto the clouds yet he shall perish * * They that have seen him shall say where is he."

Several editions of this famous pamphlet were printed, one of which, with notes of the others, may be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*.

that after the horrors of a Jefferies' Bloody Assize they did manage to "get him out again." Titus was not disgraced even in the eyes of royalty, for he was introduced to the "lion" as James II., and sworn on the Privy Council, from which he retired on the abdication of the King. After sitting in Parliament for Ludlow Col. Titus ends his notable career quietly at his native place at Bushey, where he left three daughters.

By a strange turn in the wheel of fortune, of which there were not a few in these times, Col. Titus became the owner by purchase of the estate of Sir Henry Cromwell, uncle of the Protector, at Ramsey, Hunts.—[Harl. MSS.]

HEROES AND VICTIMS.—COL RAWDON, OF HODDESDON - SIR JOHN WATTS, SIR JOHN BUTLER, AND OTHER ROYALISTS.

Rawdon House, Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, is associated with one member, as the conduit of water in the centre of the town is with a later member, of a noted family, of whom two, at least, played a conspicuous and adventurous part in the Civil War. Marmaduke Rawdon, one of the City lieutenants, finding the City going against the King at the outset retired to the house he had built at Hoddesdon, but in 1643 was unable to resist the attractions of the War, and went and offered his sword to the King at Oxford, raised a regiment of foot and a troop of horse, and for a long time by his valour made the garrison of Basing House, in Hampshire, a landmark in the history of the great struggle and a thorn in the side of the Parliamentary armies marching westwards. Sir William Waller, in besieging the place, was again and again repulsed by the valour of Col. Rawdon, and in one sanguinary encounter with the loss of nearly 3,000 men. The King, hearing of his success, commanded Col. Rawdon to appear before him at Oxford, where in the presence of many nobles and gentry, he desired him to draw his sword and then said: "this sword hath got you honour and shall give it you," and so, bidding him kneel down, conferred upon him the honour of Knighthood and an augmentation to his family Arms.

After this Sir Marmaduke stuck to his old post, where he was besieged by Fairfax. When at last the great stronghold fell, even the victorious legions of Fairfax could not but marvel at the resources which Col. Rawdon had got within Basing House. "The circumvallation was above a mile; * * * the house was fit to make an emperor's court, with provisions for some years rather than months—four hundred quarter of wheat; divers rooms full of bacon, containing hundreds of flitches; cheese proportionable, with oat meal, beef, pork, and beer divers cellars full, and that very good." † The soldiers held a corn market and sold the wheat to the country people, and prices at first were high but afterwards fell. Besides provisions, many prisoners not actually soldiers were brought out from the protection of Col. Rawdon—poor old Inigo Jones, stripped of everything else, was brought out in a blanket!

Afterwards Rawdon gave a stubborn account of himself to the forces of Fairfax around Farringdon, dying in harness in 1646.

Of the ten sons and six daughters born to him by his wife, the daughter of Thomas Thorowgood, of Hoddesdon, Thomas Rawdon, his eldest son, was a worthy successor, and, following his father to Oxford, was there made a Captain of Horse, and soon after a Colonel, fought at the siege of Gloucester, and had the strange experience of being one of the relieving party sent to the relief of his own father when besieged in Basing House, as already described. He fought in several other battles, including both the battles of Newbury; and many other strange adventures were in store for him. He was sent as Consul for the King to Portugal, but liked the stirring life of the field better and soon returned. He was with the King in his strange adventure with Cornet Joyce at Holdenby, and apparently accompanied his Majesty from Royston through Hertfordshire in his progress already described; was with him still at Hampton Court, and in his flight to the Isle of Wight, when he rendered good service in carrying private messages from the King to his friends in London. Finding he could no longer serve the King effectually he came to the old house at Hoddesdon, but could not safely abide there and fled to the Island of Teneriffe, where his brother and another relative had already gone. At the Restoration he returned to England, was presented at the court of Charles II., but though finding his own and his father's services to the royal cause acknowledged by the King, he could only get the promise of future favour which never came, and after travels across the seas came home to Hoddesdon to die in 1666.

† Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva.*

One of the earliest of the Hertfordshire Royalists to support Lord Capel in raising forces in the County and Eastern Association, as well as a fellow sufferer in the turn of events six years later, was Sir John Watts, of Mardocks, near Ware, one of the Herts Royalists who received a Commission of Array from the King.

The reader has met with Sir John when in 1642 he attempted to execute his Commission of Array for the Royalist cause at the "Bell" (now "Salisbury Arms") at Hertford, and with other Knights was obliged to retire upon the approach of the Parliamentary soldiers. It was this Sir John Watts who was expected to give battle in that midnight march to Hertford by the Earl of Bedford's Horse in the summer of 1642. He was knighted in 1642 and "for the general good and welfare of the Kingdom" he received a commission to raise a troop of horse, which he commanded under Lord Capel. Afterwards he was made Governor of Thirsk Castle, which he had to surrender and did so upon honourable terms. Upon the King being confined in the Isle of Wight, Sir John Watts joined with Lord Capel in advising how to rescue the King from his enemies and restore him to his throne, and embarked with Capel upon the abortive enterprise of the Second Civil War in 1648, sharing in the horrors of the Siege of Colchester, when Sir John was among the gentlemen taken prisoners by Fairfax. After this he made his composition for the recovery of his estates out of the hands of the Herts Sequestration Committee, sold his estate and manor of Mardocks, near Ware, and disappears from our view, leaving behind for posterity only this interesting fragmentary memorial, which I am told is or was to be seen in Hertingfordbury Church:—"Near this place lyes buried in one grave, those loyal and worthy gentlemen, Sir John Watts and Captain Harry Hooker."

The Butler family of Watton Woodhall, Hatfield, Tewin, and other places in the county, furnished no mean contingent of loyal gentry, and in the matter of furnishing supplies, and of the frequency of the family name of Boteler or Butler among the King's supporters, no Hertfordshire family name figures more prominently in the annals of the time.

At the head of the family, or families, was Sir John Butler, of Watton Woodhall, to whom the King gave a commission for raising forces in the county at the beginning of the War. The information against him afterwards laid by Parliament was, that on receiving the Commission of Array in August, 1643, he wrote to Sir Peter Saltonstall (of Barkway) and other gentlemen to consult thereupon, and that he spoke openly in the Sessions at Hertford against the Militia and "said they were idle fellows;" that he brought a pardon from the King for Hertfordshire which he delivered to the High Sheriff; that he opposed the Covenant and "said they were traitors and foresworn that took it," and that his estate was £2,000 a year. It was advised that he be imprisoned and that the fine imposed be £2,000 or £3,000.

In March, 1645, he was admitted to compound upon a fine of £2,000, when he pleaded debts, six children to provide for, the lowering of his rents, loss by free quarter of soldiers, by his two years' imprisonment, his former assistance to Parliament with £300 in Horse and Arms, and £1,200 in money; and not having assisted the King, he begged them to accept his offer of £1,000, and discharge him from imprisonment for the recovery of his health.

In August, 1645, while imprisoned at Peter House, Sir John indulged himself by using his tongue freely in the presence of the other prisoners, declaring "that the major and better part of the Parliament, that were good subjects, had left the Parliament here, and were with the King; and that it was unlawful to take up arms against the King; which the Parliament had done, and that they were traitors and rebels, and other discourse to this effect, to the disgrace of Parliament." Upon this it was ordered that Sir John Butler be removed from Peter House and committed prisoner to the Tower during the pleasure of the House, and the Lieutenant of the Tower was injoined to prevent Sir John Butler and Sir George Sandys (committed at the same time) from coming one to another. Afterwards the House so far relented as to allow Sir John to be heard in defence, and ordered that the sale of his goods be stayed for ten days. But meanwhile the Committee at Hertford had been active in carrying off some of the things from Woodhall Park, and a few days later an order for staying the sale for thirty days placed the Committee in the awkward position of having to take the things back to Watton! On the 25th of September (1645) an order was made for his release from the Tower upon his paying his former fine and composition.

By a later order, however, Sir John Butler was allowed to pay the remaining £500 of his fine

within the next five years, one hundred pounds each year, and on the 18th May, 1646, an ordinance was passed by Parliament for "granting a pardon unto Sir John Boteler, of Watton-at-Stone, in the county of Herts., Knight, for his delinquency, and the discharge of the sequestration of his estate." He failed to keep up the yearly payments, however, and in 1650 sequestration was again ordered. Sir John died soon after getting through his troubles in 1653 in the 66th year of his age and was buried at Watton. †

Besides Sir John there were several other members of the Butler family who figured conspicuously in the Wars. Sir Philip Butler, son and heir of Sir John, was an active Royalist, and for his services was made a Knight of the Bath at the Restoration. Sir Francis Butler, of Hatfield Woodhall, son of Sir Ralph, of Tewin, was with the King at York in 1642, and was Knighted for his services in Ireland.

Sir George Butler, of Tewin, was created a baronet in December, 1643, from which it may be inferred that he also was with the King, and probably at Oxford.

Sir William Butler, who married a sister of Lady Ann Fanshawe, and a daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls Park, Hertford, was killed at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury, while in command of a part of the King's Forces, on June 29th, 1644, when the King defeated Waller, and then marched into Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire and created the crisis for the Parliamentarians in these counties described in a previous chapter.

But the greatest adventurer in the War who could claim connection with the ancient mansion and family of Watton Woodhall was the famous Colonel Belasise who married Lady Jane Butler, niece of Sir John, and owner of the manor of Sacombe. Not only was this dashing young soldier with the King at Nottingham, but he took with him a regiment of Foot which he had raised himself, and afterwards raised five other regiments, became commander of the King's forces in Yorkshire, fought the battle of Selby against Fairfax, ‡ and defended Newark until the King came in person, after that march in disguise through Hertfordshire, and ordered its surrender. Like other fighting Royalists, he saw no end of adventure, was wounded in several engagements, and was three times a prisoner in the Tower, where his uncle, Sir John Butler, Mr. Coningsby, and other Hertfordshire men spent a part of the time. In 1645 he was created Baron Belasise; and, living all through the troublous times, became employed in the service of Charles II. after the Restoration.

A few more Hertfordshire Royalists who fought for the King may be conveniently grouped in this place, who, though less known to fame than the foregoing, were none the less devoted to the Royal cause.

Among the oldest families in the county who took their stand on the side of the King was that of the Gapes, of St. Michael's Manor, St. Albans. They were descended from a family who fought in the Wars of the Roses, when Henry Gape (or Guipe) is said to have fought, near his own home, in the second battle of St. Albans, and held a command in the Lancastrian Army in 1461. The names of both a John and a Francis Gape are mentioned among the Royalists, but it is John that concerns us here. Though I am not aware of any details of his action in the Wars, it seems clear that he fought for the King, the best evidence of which is that a medal presented to John Gape by Charles I. is still in the possession of Major James J. Gape, J.P., the present representative of a family which has been closely connected for generations with the county life of Hertfordshire, and furnished members of Parliament for St. Albans, without an interruption, from Charles II. to George II.

Sir John Monson was with the King at Oxford, and reputed to be "as wise a man as any of them in Oxford, where he then assisted in all Councils, and was in all treaties, particularly in that concerning the surrender of the garrison at Oxford in 1646," and having suffered much for his loyalty, he retired to his manor house at Broxbourne, where he spent a hospitable evening of life among his neighbours.

In the same parish of Broxbourne the monuments there testify, or did do so, to the trials of Sir Richard Skeffington, Knight, whose quiet spirit "mett with soe many and soe just occasions of sorrow for the divisions in Church and State, and for the sadd effects thereof, as turned his employment into such a burthen as caused him to retire to this place for ease," when he died in 1647, leaving "five children and a world of friends to mourne their losse."

† The story has got into print "that the more ancient monuments of the family were preserved during the Civil Wars by the care of a Parliamentarian who resided at Bardolphs, a sub-manor of Watton."

‡ Col. Belasise was the chief commander at Selby, when Fairfax, after severe fighting, captured the place and took Belasise and "almost one hundred officers," and two thousand prisoners, of which great battle there was "not paper enough in the town to write in a sheet."

When in August, 1644, the rival armies of the King and the Earl of Essex were in the West, and the King and his officers made an overture to treat with the Earl of Essex, the list of Hertfordshire officers who signed the document were Henry Baron Cary, of Rickmansworth, and Nath. Slingsby, of Newsells. It was Baron Cary who had the honour of entertaining the King at dinner upon that march from Hatfield House to Windsor Castle as already described.

Sir Henry Cary held one of the forts at the storming of Dartmouth in the West, which surrendered to Fairfax in January, 1646, and he was allowed to march away with his men upon giving up their arms and ammunition. Soon after this he was seeking to compound for his estate, and his fine was accepted and he was pardoned in 1647.

Another Royalist of the Cary family who was pardoned at the same time was Ernestus Cary, and among the killed at Marston Moor (1644) was Lyonell, eldest son of the Right Hon. Baron Cary, who is buried in the Chancel of the Parish Church at Rickmansworth.

John Newport, a member of the Newport family of Pelham, fought for the King, and after the defeat at Naseby he marched into the West and took part in the effort to retrieve the cause of the King in that quarter; and in a skirmish with the Parliamentary forces in Wiltshire he was wounded, from the effects of which he died in January, 1646. While he was fighting for the King his house at Furneaux Pelham shared the fate of other Royalists and his family were deprived of its use, to which they returned at the Restoration.

A typical and full blown Cavalier was Robert Lord Dormer, owner of the manor of Studham, on the borders of Herts, on the hills bordering the county near Ashridge. A rollicking sportsman "fond of his hounds and his hawks," he, when the war began, buckled on his sword and threw himself into the struggle during his short career which terminated by a Parliamentary trooper running him through with his sword at the First Battle of Newbury when the great Lord Falkland fell, in September, 1643.

In June (5th), 1643, the son of Sir John Harby, and a cousin of Sir Job Harby, of Aldenham, and related by marriage with the Saltonstalls, of Barkway, was the subject of the following order of Parliament made to his father Sir John Harby, "to have a warrant to bring a hearse with his son's corpse from Oxon," an order which tells its own tale.

George Bromley, of Waterford Hall, and owner of the manor of Westmill near Ware, Herts, drew his sword for the King and joined with Lord Capel and the Fanshawes at the opening and during the War, and in 1644 sought to evade the loss of his estate by a conveyance of it to another person, an act which Parliament declared to be fraudulent, and the Herts Sequestration Committee put themselves in possession, as appears by their certificate dated June, 1644.† Upon this in 1645 a fine of £100 was fixed, and he pleaded inability to pay, "the County Committee having taken his lands worth £86 a year, and his goods, &c., worth £600." In August of the same year he had paid the fine, however, and the House of Commons passed an order for his pardon and the discharge of his estates. But Mr. Bromley had not done with his troubles, for, undeterred by his former experience, he in 1648 joined Lord Capel and Sir Thomas Fanshawe in raising troops for the Second Civil War, which brought him, apparently, into the horrors of the Siege of Colchester, and to a subsequent imprisonment. Again he was among those who endeavoured to restore the son of the late King to the Throne, "for which attempt his estate was sequestrated and he forced to retire to some obscure habitation" until the Restoration of King Charles, and after his death his estate had become so impoverished that his son, "not being able to retrieve his father's debts," sold it to Thomas Feltham.

"Young Mr. Keeling," steward of the Borough of Hertford, whom the reader has met at the Herts Quarter Sessions, there trying to get the grand jury to present the names of those who had trained as Volunteers for Parliament at the beginning of the fray, shared the fate of Andrew Palmer, the Royalist Mayor of Hertford, but was not so soon liberated from imprisonment. For in 1644, finding their Steward of the Borough still a close prisoner in Windsor Castle, the Hertford Corporation dismissed him from his office, which his father had held for many years before him, and the Herts Sequestration Committee looked after his estate. At the Restoration, however, he not only got back his estate but was made a Serjeant-at-Law, and in 1663 was knighted and made a justice of the King's Bench, of which he afterwards became Chief Justice.

Sir Henry Blount, of Ridge, near Barnet, the reputed "Socrates of the age," was one of those who attended the King at Edgehill, and in that

† *Reports of Committee for Compounding.*

battle according to a tradition in the family is said to have had the care of the Royal children. He was with the King at Oxford, but retiring to London was brought before the House of Commons, where pleading that he had only performed such duties as his post required of him, he was let off.

Sir Thomas Salisbury was among those who were, at the very beginning of the War, in Sept., 1642, to be "impeached for high treason for actual levying of war against the King and Parliament, and marching at the head of his forces against the Parliament."

The above are some of the principal members of old Hertfordshire families who may be properly grouped as fighting Royalists, as distinguished from others, who though supporters of the cause of the King in principle, confined their loyalty to furnishing means for carrying on the War for the King, or to refusing to comply with the demands of Parliament, and as the manner of dealing with these by Parliament and the County Committee has a peculiar interest of its own, they will be noticed in a separate chapter.

HEROES FOR PARLIAMENT.—DANIEL AXTELL OF BERKHAMSTED, IRONSIDE AND REGICIDE.

> Such souls,
> Whose sudden visitations dase the world,
> Vanish like lightning, but they leave behind,
> A voice that in the distance far away,
> Wakens the slumbering ages.
>
> Sir H. Taylor.—*Philip van Artevelde.*

The Parliamentarians may have ridden rough-shod over mere sentimental attachments and personal devotion to one man; but stern and uninviting though the manner of many of the fighting men on their side was, they left an example of contending for a great principle which was destined to live in the history of England when the smoke of battle had passed away.

The name of Master Hampden, the friend of many Hertfordshire families, besides the Lyttons, of Knebworth—the member of Parliament chosen for Wendover, on the borders of Hertfordshire, though preferring to sit for his county of Bucks in that famous Parliament of 1640, was a household word, and a name to conjure with among the Hertfordshire people when the War began. His cause the Hertfordshire people had, to a large extent, made their own, and the principle which animated his followers was a powerful element in the county when it came to the question of taking sides in the conflict. On the negative side, Hampden's historic protest had carried with it the whole of the county families of Hertfordshire, and it was only when its logical effect carried adherents into the field of actual war that something like a social cleavage manifested itself, and a number of the leading families went over to the King.

The result of that cleavage was that while the county of Hertford furnished from its yeomen and its malt-makers substantial levies for the Parliamentary Army all through the War, the county produced few soldiers of distinction on the Parliament side considered as commanders in the field of actual war. Of administrators and Committee-men it could furnish no end of leaders, but either they had not the qualifications for command in war, or, as events developed, they were half-hearted in the business of fighting. Major-General Browne, we have seen, attributed some of his difficulties with the Hertfordshire and Essex men in the crisis of 1644 partly to the backwardness of some of the commanders themselves. The great majority of the leading men for Parliament, within the county, were men of the old county type of those Knights whom we have seen now carrying to Parliament their protestations and their petitions, and now acting on County Committees for organising means for carrying on the War.

But while the actual fighting for Hertfordshire on the side of Parliament had thus to be done by men who rest, for the most part, in forgotten and unheroic graves, a few notable figures remain whose exploits must claim a place in general and county history. Just as Lord Capel was foremost, in unselfish loyalty, of those who fought and suffered for the King, so at the opposite extreme the County of Hertford produced one of the most distinguished, though one of the youngest, of those fighting, praying Ironsides, whose names stand out for valour in the pages of history.

Colonel Axtell, who distinguished himself on the side of Parliament during the War, who became a notable figure in the band of Regicides, and suffered from the reaction at the Restoration, was a native of Berkhamsted. The family was for many generations connected with that town, and evidently occupied a position of substance and of influence there. As early as the reign of Henry VIII a member of the family became a monk of the order of Bon

Hommes, in Ashridge House, before the Dissolution. At the outbreak of the Civil War the head of the family was one William Axtell, whose son, Daniel, was then twenty years of age. †

When the War broke out the future hero of the Ironsides had gone up to London, apprenticed there to a trade—as the boys of many a substantial country family then were—and was in surroundings which did not seem to promise any such distinction on the public stage as that to which he was so soon to attain. But at a time when the religious side of the quarrel was especially prominent, when fears of a Roman Catholic ascendancy in Church and State wrought effectually upon the imagination, and stimulated the oratory of Puritan preachers, both in and outside the pulpits of the Established Church, young Axtell, the London apprentice, came under the spell of one or two of these "cry-aloud and spare-not" type of Puritan preachers. Under the spell of their oratory he threw in his lot with the Parliamentary side of the quarrel, gave up his trade, shouldered a pike, and rose by his zeal to the ranks of Captain, of Major, and then of Lieut.-Colonel of a Regiment of Foot at the early age of twenty-six years. He, apparently, went all through the War, was with the Army at Thriplow Heath, and his regiment was certainly present at the Ware rendezvous in Corkbush-field.

Among the many occasions of hard fighting in which young Axtell had a share there is one in which he is specially commended. While the soldiers of Axtell's own county were, in the summer of 1648, engaged in chasing the Cavaliers through Hertfordshire to the battle of St. Neots, Col. Axtell was engaged with Col. Rich at the siege of Deal Castle. On August 22nd of that year the surrender of the Castle was reported to the House.

Col. Rich, in writing to Parliament an account of the taking of Deal Castle, says :—"In this and the other leaguer, at Walmer, the bearer, Lieutenant-Colonel Axtell, hath been extraordinary active and diligent, and will, if your leisure permits, give you account of the provisions we found here ; and this Castle wanted not men to defend it, there being not less than 200 and upwards that marched out." [Letter in *Cary Memorials*, vol. ii., page 4.]

† "1622 : Danniell, ye sonne of William Axtell, was baptized ye 26th of May." Berkhamsted Parish Registers.

Lieut.-Col. Axtell, who was in the whole action, was called into the House, and "declared the particulars of the proceedings in this service, and delivered in the articles of surrender thereof." It was "Ordered that the sum of one hundred pounds be bestowed upon Lieut.-Col. Axtell, and paid to him by the Committee of Kent out of the sequestrations of that county."

By the time the Army had marched from its deliberations in St. Albans Abbey to take into its own hands the Parliamentary division lists and the fate of the King, Axtell, for a young man, had come rapidly to the front, and appears to have strongly opposed all endeavours at a reconciliation with the King ; and at the King's trial, as we shall see presently, he was in command of the Guards in charge of Westminster Hall, when it was alleged he made himself notorious in quelling and counteracting any popular expressions of sympathy with his Majesty as he passed to and from the scene of the trial in the Hall.

After the execution of the King, in which Axtell played a prominent part, his regiment was drawn for service in Ireland, and while in that country it was alleged by his opponents that he committed acts of cruelty upon both Protestants and Catholics, and that his conduct elicited the disapproval of his fellow officers. But Ludlow, writing of Axtell's career, says that he had behaved himself honestly and bravely in the service of the Commonwealth. He further adds that "he had been captain, major, lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of foot, and when Cromwell was sent by Parliament into Ireland with an army against the rebels, and the regiment in which Col. Axtell served was drawn out by lot for that expedition, he cheerfully undertook the employment and for his fidelity, courage, and good conduct was soon preferred to the head of a regiment and not long after was made Governor of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important trust he discharged with diligence and success. In this station he showed a more than ordinary zeal in punishing those Irish who had been guilty of murdering the Protestants, and on this account, as well as for what he had done in relation to the late King, the Court [at the Restoration] had procured him to be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity."

But if Axtell was at fault in avenging the massacre of the Protestants, Cromwell's policy in Ireland gave dissatisfaction to the Puritans and especially the Anabaptists, and Axtell, with other officers, resigned his commission in

November, 1656, returned to England and lived upon "his estates which he had acquired in the service."

After Cromwell's death he received the appointment of the command of a division of the Irish Brigade, and upon General Monk's march with his army from Scotland, Col. Axtell and the rest of the officers of the Irish Brigade, "the best troops in the Kingdom," kept their body from acting against him. It is said that Monk, knowing that the troops while under such officers would never concur in the King's restoration, got them by stratagem to change them for other officers, and thus weakened Lambert's army so that his (Monk's) march to London could not be opposed, as it might otherwise have been. Axtell, seeing which way the wind blew, shifted for himself. But though he had now no command, upon Lambert's escape from the Tower in 1660 he joined him at Daventry with a body of horse. When this force was dispersed and Lambert was again made prisoner Axtell was among the "considerable officers" who managed to escape for the time being, but not long after he, too, found himself within the walls of the Tower. Ludlow says that his capture came about through a stratagem—that "he was trepanned by the Cavaliers under the pretence of treating with him for the purchase of some lands and was sent to the Tower."

So Colonel Axtell, though not actually one of the Regicides, was brought to trial. The circumstances attending his trial and that of others at the Restoration were these. The King (Charles II.) had, before landing in England, made proclamation at Breda declaring a free pardon to all who within forty days should claim the benefit of it, excepting any who were excepted by Parliament; Axtell was not among those excepted; but, with others who were relying upon the benefit of that proclamation, he found the tide of feeling too strong for proclamations to stand in the way, and he and others were insisted upon as victims.

The Court which tried Colonel Axtell and the other Regicides was presided over by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the Lord Chief Baron—who afterwards figured notably in Hertfordshire in the trial and punishment of the Quakers—and the judges included at least two Hertfordshire men in Baron Atkins, the former Serjeant Atkins, who was made steward of the Borough of Hertford in place of "young Mr. Keeling," and Sir Harbottle Grimston.

The indictment charged Axtell with "imagining and compassing the King's death," and when placed at the bar the Clerk of the Court called out—

"Daniel Axtell, hold up thy hand. How sayest thou, art thou guilty or not guilty of the treason?"

But Axtell, like many of the Regicides, who were put up in batches to plead at the same time, at first refused to make a plea either of guilty or not guilty, in so many words, without the opportunity of making a qualifying statement or explanation, to which the Court would not listen.

Sir Orlando Bridgeman: Then I will tell you the law. He that doth refuse to put himself upon his legal trial of God and the country is a mute in law; and therefore you must plead guilty or not guilty—let his language be what it will he is a mute in law.

Axtell: I do not refuse it.

The Court: Then say.

Axtell: I am not guilty.

The Court: How wilt thou be tried?

Axtell: By twelve lawful men, according to the Constitution of the law.

The Court: That is, "By God and the country." †

Axtell: That is not lawful—God is not locally here!

The Clerk: How wilt thou be tried? You must say "By God and the country."

Axtell: By God and the country.

The Clerk: God send you a good deliverance.

Axtell then asked to be supplied with pen and ink, and, having challenged some of the jury, the trial proceeded.

Counsel for the prosecution opened the proceedings by painting the deeds of Axtell as "the commander of that black, that cruel and bloody guard of soldiers in Westminster Hall at the King's trial," in the blackest colours.

In support of the rather vague charge it was

† The formal answer to this question in the legal procedure of the time was "By God and the country," to which answer the Clerk of the Court formally added "God send you a good deliverance." The exact meaning of the phrase "by God and the country" comes out in the direction given to the jury—"the prisoner hath put himself upon God and the country, which country you are."

urged against him that when the King was passing to the High Court of Justice during his trial, some of the people called out "God save the King," that Col. Axtell beat the soldiers till they called out "Justice, justice," and that upon the last day of the trial when the people called out "God preserve your Majesty," as the King passed, Axtell compelled the soldiers to call out "Execution, Execution." One of the principal incidents spoken to by the witnesses was this:—

When, at the opening of the King's trial in Westminster Hall, Lady Fairfax, who was among the ladies in the gallery, in answer to her husband's name in the roll-call of the judges called out from behind a mask, "he has more wit than to be here"; and again when the King was asked to answer the charge "in the behalf of the Commons assembled in Parliament and the good people of England," Lady Fairfax again called out "It is a lie; not half nor a quarter of the people of England; Oliver Cromwell is a traitor," —it was alleged that Colonel Axtell lost his temper and actually ordered his soldiers to fire, or rather to point their guns, to where Lady Fairfax and others sat!

One of the witnesses at the trial referring to this incident swore that when the lady called out from the gallery Axtell commanded some musqueteers to present their guns against the lady and commanded her to unmask!

Axtell:- What lady is it? I desire to know.

Witness: She went by the name of Lady Fairfax. I know not whether it was so or no; it was the common report it was she.

Col. Huncks, another witness, said on the morning the King died the prisoner Axtell came to the door of the room where Col. Phayre, Col. Hacker, Cromwell and the witness were at Whitehall (Ireton and Harrison lying in bed together in the same room). Axtell stood at the door half in and half out. Witness refused to sign the order for executing the King as Cromwell ordered him to do, "and some little cross language having passed, saith the prisoner at the bar, 'Col. Huncks, I am ashamed of you! The ship is now coming into the harbour and will you strike sail before we come to anchor?'"

Axtell denied having seen the witness. †

Sir P. Temple was another witness, and he swore that at the King's trial he saw Axtell beat four or five of his soldiers till they called out "justice, justice," and that when they with the powder in the palms of their hands forced the King to rise out of his chair Axtell was much pleased and laughed at it.

Axtell strongly denied this.

Another witness swore that when Axtell called out "shoot them if they [in the gallery] speak one word more," they were all very "hush." Another witness swore that Axtell encouraged the soldiers to say "let us have justice against the King!"

One witness against Axtell was John Jeonar, a domestic servant upon the late King, and in attendance upon his Majesty at the trial. Witness was close to the King and Col. Axtell was upon the right hand commanding the guard, and called out to the soldiers to cry out "justice" on the last day of the trial.

Axtell: Are you certain? I have heard other men, I confess, accused for this—some other officers.

Witness: I did hear you.

Samuel Burden, an over-confident witness, said he believed Col. Axtell knew him well enough, as he was then under his command at Whitehall, and he added that there were some Cavaliers then in the regiment, and it was his fortune to come into Col. Axtell's regiment and he wished he never had. Col. Axtell commanded him and others to be a witness against the King. Axtell also commanded Elisha Axtell, with a file of soldiers, to take a boat and go down to the common hangman, who lived beyond the Tower, to execute the King.

The Counsel for the prosecution having submitted to the Court that the evidence had made the prisoner out to be "blacker than they thought" said he "left him to his defence."

Col. Axtell addressed the Court with considerable ability and at some length. At first he had endeavoured to evade the charges as to beating the soldiers and to make them call out "justice"

† Col. Huncks in a further account of this scene stated that when he refused to draw up an order for the execution of the King "Cromwell would have no delay. There was a little table that stood by the door, and pen, ink and paper being there, Cromwell writ (I conceive he wrote that which he would have had me to write) as soon as he had done writing, he gives the pen over to Hacker, Hacker he stoops and did write (I cannot say what he writ). Away goes Cromwell, and then Axtell; we all went out, afterwards they went into another room; immediately the King came out and was murthered."

and "execution," saying that he might have beaten the soldiers for crying out, and might have repeated their words by saying "I'll justice you," and "I'll execution you." This plea was soon over-ruled. It was in vain also that he now submitted to the Court that he considered the war in which he had taken part was legal because it was ordered by a Parliament called by the King's writ; that he was no more guilty than General Monk, who acted upon the same authority; that he was not of the Council, and had no hand in the execution of the King; that he was only obeying the order of Parliament, and if he acted treason it was under that authority, and if the House of Commons, who were the collective body and the representatives of the nation, be guilty, then all the people of England who chose them were guilty, and then where would be the jury to try them?

This ingenious legal point being over-ruled, Col. Axtell said his commission to obey his General was given to him when the Lords and Commons sat in Parliament. He had no other commission than this; and Lord Fairfax commanded the army after the King's death by a like commission. He did but his duty in going to his regiment. If his General said "go to such a place" and he refused "then by the law of war I die; if I obey, then I am in danger."

The Court over-ruled Axtell again, and asked if his commission authorised him to cry "justice, justice," and to look up and down to get witnesses against the King—was that his commission?

Axtell: I am to serve and obey all my superior officers, that is my commission, and if I do not I die by the law of the country.

The Court: You are to obey them in all just commands; all unjust commands are invalid.

As to Lady Fairfax, Axtell said, "I knew not who the lady was that called out. But, my Lord, to silence a lady, I suppose, is not treason. If a lady will talk impertinently it is no treason to bid her hold her tongue!"

Upon the statement of a witness that he "laughed when others sighed" Axtell said that he believed he had as deep a sense of what was transacted that day as others, but if he had smiled he hoped that was not treason. If he did encourage his soldiers to demand justice and execution, the execution of justice was a glorious thing; justice was one of the great attributes of God, and the desiring of it would be no crime. But the words, not being spoken with a personal application, might have a good as well as a bad construction; and, in favour of life, the best sense ought to be put upon them.

The Lord Chief Baron: Have you done, sir?

Axtell: I leave the matter to the jury, in whose hands I and my little ones and family are left; I only say this to you—remember your ancestors, remember your posterity . . . I never heard it before that words were treason . . . . Gentlemen of the jury I leave my case, my life, my all in your hands. †

The Clerk [after the jury had consulted]: Daniel Axtell, hold up thy hand. Gentlemen, look upon the prisoner at the bar. How say you, is he guilty of high treason whereof he stands indicted or not?

The Foreman: Guilty.

Look to him, keeper. What goods or chattels?

The Jury: Not any to our knowledge.

And so the doughty Hertfordshire Ironside vanishes for a time—down that inclined plane on which the Regicides are rapidly falling—down to the condemned cell, there to await the impending doom of being hung, drawn, and quartered!

The glimpses we get of Axtell after the sentence of the Court show us anything but a man going to an ignominious death on the scaffold. Returning from his trial at the Court to his prison, "with a cheerful countenance," and his wife coming to meet him full of trouble, Axtell said, "not a tear, wife! What hurt have they done me to send me sooner to heaven? I bless the Lord I could have freely gone from the bar to the gibbet!" Attention being called by his friends to his coarse lodgings, he replied, "what matter is it to have a little dirty way when we have a fair house to go into!" When his daughter came in to visit him he remarked, "where hast thou been all this while? I thought thou hadst been ashamed of my chains."

To a gentleman coming in to see him before departing for Ireland, Axtell said, "Tell them that for the good old cause which we were engaged in under Parliament, I am now going to be their martyr, and as for the King I wish him as well as my own soul." Hearing other prisoners go by his door on their way to execution, he called out, "The Lord go with you."

† The above particulars are taken from the *State Trials* (Cobbett's Collection, vol. v), the *Trial of the Regicides*, and other contemporary sources, the accounts in each of which substantially agree.

Laying his hand upon his fellow-prisoner, Col. Hacker, who had been condemned at the same time, Axtell said, "Come, brother, be not so sad; by this time to-morrow we shall be with our Father in glory. What hurt will they do us to bring us through the Cross to the Crown; well, our God is the God of Newgate."

When parting with his friends at the door of his dungeon he said, "I am now going to my bed of roses; my last bed. If I had a thousand lives I would lay them down for the good old cause." Embracing his son and daughter, he urged them to "keep close to Christ; He will be a better Father to thee than I." When on the morrow the sledge was brought to convey Col. Axtell and Col. Hacker to their execution, Axtell desired his friends to be at the place of execution, and then "with a cheerful countenance they were drawn to Tyburn."

When it came to Col. Axtell's turn to be executed, the crowd who had witnessed almost a surfeit of executions at Charing Cross turned up at Tyburn, where Axtell's and Hacker's execution was appointed to take place, in a more favourable mood for the victims. They had already witnessed the execution of Cook, the Solicitor-General, of Hugh Peters, the "mad chaplain" or "the Prince of Army Chaplains," whom we have met in the Abbey Church at St. Albans; of Col. Scroop, who marched from Hertford and won the battle of St. Neot's, while Capel was shut in Colchester; of Harrison, Scott, and others, of Corkbush-field notoriety, had seen the manner in which their bodies were mangled, and had been impressed by the fortitude with which they met their fate. When, therefore, it came to Axtell's turn, though he was the very man who had taken so prominent a part at the trial and execution of the King, there were no reproaches or uncivil taunts from the crowd. †

In fact, the Court party had found that the policy of revenge, and the course of slaughter, might over-reach itself in the eyes of the people; and from prudential motives, apparently, the execution of Col. Axtell and Col. Hacker was removed from Charing Cross, where the above named had been executed, to Tyburn.

The scene at Tyburn, when Col. Axtell and Col. Hacker arrived for execution was, however, a very remarkable one. Having been drawn thither on a sledge from Newgate, "with a cheerful countenance they were placed in a cart, and the rope placed round their necks," ready for the cart to be drawn from beneath the gallows and leave them swinging after the manner of execution by hanging in those times, and all around them was a great crowd of people.

> The rabble rout forbore to shout,
> And each man held his breath.
> For well they knew the hero's soul,
> Was face to face with death!

Colonel Axtell, addressing the Sheriff, said: "Mr. Sheriff, I am now, as you see, come to the place of execution according to my sentence. I desire your leave that I may speak freely and without interruption, first to these people and then to God, for it is the last that I shall speak in this world, and I hope it will redound to your account."

To this the Sheriff replied: "You know that the Court prohibited you to speak, and what was spoken at the bar of the Court was there decided; therefore it is needless for you to repeat it here. I hope you will keep to the present business which concerns you and not go out into impertinencies; and because you have little time, spend it to your best advantage and the good of the people, and then you shall not be interrupted."

Colonel Axtell then, with a Bible in his hand, addressed the people, declaring that "the very cause for which I have engaged is contained in this book of God, both in the civil and religious rights of it, which I leave to you [giving the Bible to the Sheriff]. * * I must truly tell you that, before these late wars, it pleased the Lord to call me by His grace through the work of the ministry, and afterwards, keeping a day of humiliation and fasting and prayer, with Mr. Simeon Ash, Mr. Love, Mr. Woodcocke, and other ministers in Laurence-lane, they did so clearly state the cause of the Parliament that I was fully convinced in my own conscience of the justness of the War, and thereupon engaged in the Parliament service, which (as I did and do

† "Though Colonel Axtell and Colonel Hacker had actual charge of the scaffold, and were the superintendents, and, except for the hangmen, the executioners of the King, the crowd would, in their cases, permit no reproaches or incivility towards them. * * Axtell was, to some extent, regarded by the people as a Protestant hero, for he had been Governor of Kilkenny, and had been very active in punishing those of the Irish rebels who had been concerned in the massacre of the Protestants. For this reason it was said that the Court had induced the Parliament to except him from the Act of Oblivion, of which he otherwise would have had the benefit, his life having been expressly spared by resolution of the House of Commons.— Inderwick's *Side-lights on the Stuarts.*

believe) was the cause of the Lord; I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it. †

The Sheriff: Sir, remember yourself!

Axtell: After the work of the Lord was done in England my lot cast me in the service of Ireland, and I thank the Lord I was serviceable to the English in that country, and have discharged my duty fully according to the trust committed to me there. * * As for the fact for which I now suffer, it is for words, and but for words, and the sentence is already reversed in my own conscience, and it will be reversed by Jesus Christ bye-and-bye; I pray God from the very bottom of my soul to forgive all that have had any hand in my death."

Then giving reasons for his faith, he concluded with an acknowledgment of "the faults that fell upon my own heart," and the determination that as Jesus Christ had, for the joy set before Him, endured the cross and despised the shame, therefore he, hoping to see his Saviour shortly in His glory and majesty, despised the shame, as a sinful creature who could not expect better than his Master, and could not think it a despicable thing that they should suffer for Him, having been engaged in the work of God. "But Christ must and will prevail in His righteousness; and now, Mr. Sheriff, I thank you for your civilities and for this leave. I desire all that fear the Lord to bear with patience and to lift up their hearts to see the Lord with me that we may have strength and the presence of His spirit from this world to everlasting life."

Axtell then prayed fervently and in a loud voice before the people; begging, as the last request "this side Heaven," that "this poor people might have the pardon of a dying Saviour," adding with fervour, "Thy poor servants would not part with Christ for ten thousand lives."

Having ended his prayer Axtell again thanked the High Sheriff for his civility, and then turning to Colonel Hacker they "saluted and embraced each other in their arms," and said, "the Lord sweeten our passage and give us a happy meeting with Himself in glory!" Then putting the cap over his eyes, "expecting as he supposed that the cart should be drawn away, with his hands lifted up he [Axtell] uttered these words with a loud and audible voice, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!' but, the cart staying a little longer, he lifted up his hands a second time and with the like audible and loud voice said, 'into Thy hands, O Father, I commend my spirit!' And yet, in regard there was no man found to put forward the horse to draw away the cart until the common hangman came down out of the cart to do it; the carman, as many witnesses affirm, saying he would lose his cart and horse before he would have a hand in hanging such a man. By these means he had opportunity to lift up his hands and utter the like words a third time also."

"One thing more is very remarkable, that when Colonel Axtell and Colonel Hacker were taken out of the sledge into the cart the spectators, being in great numbers there, behaved themselves very civilly. Only two persons among them, as soon as the ropes were put about their necks, cried out very earnestly, 'hang them! hang them! rogues! traitors and murderers! hangman, draw away the cart!' (the common reproaches of the crowd at the execution of the other regicides], whereupon a man that stood by them desired them to be civil and said, 'the Sheriff knoweth what he hath to do,' and thereupon they were silent and gave attention to Axtell's speech and prayer; but before he had done those very persons were so affected that they could not refrain from pouring out many tears * * and went aside to weep."

So passed away one of the stout old praying, fighting Ironsides, the Berkhamsted boy who learned to pray as an apprentice in Laurence-lane, and to wield the sword on many a hard fought field! It is a small matter, though characteristic of the times, that Axtell was, after his death, drawn and quartered, that his head was severed from his body and set upon the further end of Westminster Hall and his quarters exposed to public view in other parts of the City. His life and work may have had in them all the defects as well as the virtues of the extreme party to which he attached himself; he may have allowed his zeal for the "good old cause" to outrun his discretion in that memorable scene at the

† According to Dr. South, Axtell said "that he, with many more, went into that execrable war with such a controlling horror upon their spirits from those public sermons, especially of Brooks and Calamy, that they verily believed they should have been accursed by God for ever if they had not acted their part in that dismal tragedy, and heartily done the devil's work." This Dr. South says he had from Axtell's own mouth, but the "execrable war," dismal tragedy," and devil's work," certainly could not have been Axtell's words. For the rest, the sentiment agrees with that given above, but it affords a significant instance of how a man's own words were twisted in those times.

trial of the King in Westminster Hall; he may have been rigorous for the Protestant cause in his Irish service; but through it all the side of Parliament had no braver soldier, Protestantism no stouter champion, and the great drama of the Civil War no more courageous man in the face of its awful development than Daniel Axtell.

It may be of interest to add, as coming from a distinguished member of the Bar, that Mr. Inderwick (*Side-lights on the Stuarts*) in reviewing the sentences upon the Regicides expresses the opinion that the case of the officers who acted under the orders of their superiors seems more doubtful [than that of other Regicides], and that "the capital sentences might very well have been remitted in the instances of Col. Axtell and Col. Hacker."

But vindictive feelings were stronger than law, and the fact that Axtell had thrown some feeling into his executive duties, was sufficient to account for the retaliation which cost him his life, but could scarcely have justified a barbarous treatment of his remains, more suggestive of the Middle Ages. † This seems perfectly clear from the fact that some of the Regicides, who kept out of the way until the violent feeling of the hour had subsided, fared better than their comrades who bore the brunt of the re-action at the time.

Axtell's companion on the gallows at Tyburn, Colonel Hacker, was a Nottinghamshire gentleman of an old family, in whose hands was left the warrant for the execution of the King. This his wife handed over to the Crown, hoping, though in vain, that by doing so she would obtain mercy for her husband, who, however, was at least spared the barbarous treatment of his remains after death which was shown in the case of Axtell.

† The spirit of revenge in which the sentences upon the Regicides were carried out may be gathered from the fact that when it came to the turn of Cook, the Solicitor-General, he was dragged on the sledge from Newgate to Charing Cross with the head of Harrison (previously executed) placed on the sledge with him, and facing him during his dismal progress. In the case of Hugh Peters, the executioner having finished his work upon Cook, went with his gory hands and Cook's mangled remains to Peters, who was awaiting his turn, and addressing him said, "Come, Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?" to which the famous Chaplain replied: "I am not, thank God, terrified at it; you may do your worst!"

As the occupier of Berkhamsted Mansion, Castle or Place, Col. Axtell held a position of some note in Hertfordshire, and especially in the town of his birth. The mansion had at least been visited by Charles I. in his early life, and it is said that Mrs. Murray, who occupied it during his reign, had nursed him there. Unfortunately the Parish Registers are silent about Axtell's marriage and his family, but there is sufficient evidence, I think, to warrant the assumption that he must have married some time during the progress of the War, and probably very soon after he had acquired a position of responsibility and trust in the Army. For, although he refers in his speech at the trial to his "little ones," his manner of addressing his son and daughter on the occasion of their visit just before his execution shows that they at least were approaching to years of discretion, and were no longer children. There is the interesting fact that an Elisha Axtell is mentioned by one of the witnesses at the trial as having been sent by Axtell for the hangman at the King's execution. As Axtell was at that time himself only in his twenty-seventh year, it is clear that this Elisha could not have been his son, but it points to the likelihood of another member of the Axtell family having engaged in the War.

The name of Axtell, Axtill or Axtoll, is of very frequent occurrence in the Berkhamsted Parish Registers of a later date, the last of which is the following:—"1734, May 26th. Anne Axtell, an almshouse woman, was buried." In Cobb's *History of Berkhamsted*, which contains but a brief notice of Axtell, it is stated that "this family is now settled in America. The Rev. J. Axtell, jun., West Medway, Mass., wrote to me in 1875 requesting information to make his genealogical tree complete."

Miss Axtell, a descendant of Colonel Axtell, also visited Berkhamsted not many years ago and made inquiries respecting the old scenes and associations of her famous ancestor, and among other places visited Berkhamsted House, in which Colonel Axtell lived, and now the residence of Lady Sarah Spencer. Other evidence of the influential position of the Axtell family in the parish and neighbourhood is afforded by surveys made in the time of James I. The name was also to be met with in other parts of Hertfordshire, as at Redbourn, where about the time of the execution of King Charles I. a Timothy Axtell was concerned in a law suit on behalf of the poor and their charity lands.

COLONEL ALBAN COX AND THE HERTFORDSHIRE FORCES. – CAPT. WINGATE AND HIS ADVENTURES.

"We are in the hands, I am satisfied, of a man of honour."

Alban Cox, of Beaumonts, near St. Albans, a son of Alban Cox, of Shenley, deserves special notice rather for his many useful services to Parliament, and for the moderation with which he tempered his procedure when the necessity for hostile acts towards those in the county on the side of the King brought him into conflict with old associations rather than for any such notorious conduct as that of a Titus or an Axtell. He was a tower of strength on the administrative side of the cause of Parliament in the county, which caused him to stand in high favour and to win the regard of Cromwell, both in the progress of the War and also when Cromwell became Protector. In those anxious months of July and August, 1642, when the impending first blow was straining men's minds with suspense and the official life of Hertfordshire was in the strangest confusion as to the giving and obeying orders, the responsible step of commencing to train Volunteers at St. Albans and adjacent towns and villages was entrusted by Parliament to Alban Cox in respect to mounted men and Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Marsh as to the foot soldiers. In the first years of the War he was in command of a troop of horse raised in the county of Hertford, and, as Colonel in the Parliamentary Army, had under him the more famous Silas Titus, whom we have met with as a Captain of Horse with the Hertfordshire troops at Newbury in that part of Titus' career when he was on the side of the Parliament and wrote to Col. Alban Cox that interesting letter from before Donnington Castle, near Newbury, on the subject of the doings and sufferings of the Hertfordshire soldiers. Col. Cox appears to have had a larger share in the organising of levies in the county and in command of its defensive operations than of fighting service outside the borders of the county, but of the value of his service to the county, both from a military and civil point of view, there is little doubt.

Abundant evidence of this is afforded by Cromwell's letters to him. Thus in April, 1655, he writes from Whitehall:—

"Sir,—Having occasion to speak with you upon some affairs relating to the public, I would have you, as soon as this comes to your hands, to repair hither; and upon your coming you shall be acquainted with the particular reasons of my sending for you. I rest, your loving friend, Oliver P."

The reasons for requiring Col. Alban Cox's attendance at Whitehall were probably very well known to his neighbours in Hertfordshire, and we, by the aid of contemporary records, and by putting two and two together, have little difficulty in guessing the reasons. Though the estates of Royalists were sequestrated, and the owners themselves deprived of their revenues effectively enough, it did sometimes happen that all the money was not accounted for to the State. This kind of thing had happened in the previous year in Hertfordshire, and in the same month of April, 1655, the case of the moneys arising from the sequestrated estate of Sir Henry Anderson, of Pendley, formed the subject of reports and debates in Parliament, and upon the matter being referred to Commissioners to ascertain how the profits had been disposed of, what came to the Commonwealth, and how the State had been abused or deceived therein, Sir Henry Anderson was "enjoined to attend the said Commissioners and make good the information given by him touching the deceit to the State therein. It may have been in reference to this business that Col. Alban Cox was specially summoned by the Protector.

Another letter was written by Cromwell to Col. Alban Cox on the same day that he had dissolved the Parliament in which his new batch of Peers had caused him some trouble:—

"For Col. Alban Cox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our county of Hertford: These, for our special service. To be left with the Postmaster of St. Albans to be speedily sent.

Whitehall, 4th February, 1657.

Sir,—By our last letters to you we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier party (who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad) and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace and apprehending all dangerous persons. Our intelligence of that kind still continues."

The letter proceeds to refer to the tendency to "stirring up and cherishing such humours" in the debates in Parliament, and continues "We, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this nation and to the loosening of all the bonds of Government * * * thought it of absolute

necessity to dissolve this present Parliament—which I have done this day—and to give you notice thereof; that you with your Troop may be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever. And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable petition, that you apprehend them, and give an account thereof to us forthwith. And we do further let you know that we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and Troop; and do assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay. And so I rest your loving friend, Oliver P."

There is every reason to believe that in Col. Alban Cox, member of Parliament for St. Albans, Cromwell, both as a soldier and statesman, found one whom he could trust, notwithstanding attempts to discredit him in the County. Of his moderation towards the Royalists in the county the following memorial is quoted by Clutterbuck [*History of Hertfordshire*, vol. i, p. 113]:—

"Upon information that some persons have reported Collell Alban Cox to have dealt severely and unhandsomely with those gentlemen of the county of Hertford, which formerly went distinguished by the name of the King's party or Cavalleers; wee, whose names are hereunto subscribed (being inhabitance of the sayd county, and of the number of those who were soe distinguished) doe under our hands aver and testifie that the sayd Alban Cox, haveing the command of a troope of county horse in Hertfordshire, did use us with all civility and respect; and that when the persons soe distinguished were in all other Countyes twice gathered together, and longe deteyned in a chargeable durance from their houses; that wee, by the undertakeing and engageing of the sayd Coxe for us, weare not at all molested or disturbed, and that there being orders a third time for our seizeing and secureing, the sayd Coxe, being, as wee have heard, informed against to Oliver Cromwell for holding intelligence with his mat^ie, saying '*That a crowne would become the head of a Steward better than a Cromwell*,' and for being a favoror of and sider with, all delinquents, malignants and Cavalliers; the sayd Cox did send for and acquaint some of us what he stood accused of, and by whom, and that hee was no longer able to serve us, being both accused, and haveing information against him, and therefore was resolved to quitt his command, which he, the said Cox, was by some of us disuaded from, all telling him that it would scarcely gaine a beliefe in Cromwell: that all he stood accused of was truth, but that his command would bee given to some meane and rude person from whom, in all probability, we might receive unhandsome usage, and that the sayd Cox being ordered by him, who was his superior in command, to send some of us to Alisbury, did att our requests prevaile with him for the continueing us at St. Albans, where wee acknowledge ourselves to have bin very curteously and civilly intreated, and not restrained of any liberty wee (then) could in reason demannd, or expected from him. Witness our hands this eight and twentieth day of June, in the twelft yeare of his matie's reigne that now is, Tho. Coningesbie, Jo. Jeffery, Edward Crosbie, Elias Jenkes, Rt. Slingesby, Francis Boteler, Dan. Treswell, John Watts, Ra. Baeshe."

Though the record of the particular doings of Alban Cox in the civil and military affairs of the county is imperfect, the reader has sufficient in the above memorial alone, reading between the lines, to get a very good idea of one who deserves to be placed with the first of Hertfordshire Parliamentarian heroes in the strife. Though his was a less noisy career than some others, the part he played was of the more value to his cause, coming from an honourable county man of good family—unspoiled by narrow theological bitterness of the hip-and-thigh, cry-aloud-and-spare-not type of some on his side who drew their verbal inspiration so freely from the Old Testament and too often forgot the spirit of the New. The reader of Sir Walter Scott's *Woodstock* will see in Alban Cox a Markham Everard in the flesh. A man of good birth, holding as a matter of conscience to the principles of the side he believes to be right, yet strong enough and generous enough to remember, amidst all the clamour and stress of Civil War, the older bond of friendship and local ties; and, just as the Parliamentary Colonel of fiction was to win his reward in the daughter of the implacable old Cavalier, so the Parliamentary Colonel of Hertfordshire history finds, in his hour of need, the very men whom it had been his painful duty to imprison, and his inclination to spare, coming forward to silence his detractors; asserting their belief that even their mortal enemy "Old Noll" would never credit his accusers. The fact was that so long as a man was not a "traitor" and inclined to "play fox," Cromwell with all his stern military discipline could always find room for men of varying temper and disposition, and his remark about Lieut.-Col. Packer, "I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself"—shows that he would not be likely to set aside a public man of great influence

in his own county, who, while adhering to the cause of the Parliament, could yet for his magnanimity towards the claims of private life, extract that splendid testimony from those who had left no stone unturned to bring the county of Hertford over to the King.

That testimony to one who, in a peculiarly painful position, had, as far as possible, acted up to the golden rule, so rarely thought of in the distractions of the hour, came at an opportune moment, when there were evidently not wanting men in the county who were seeking to prejudice his case, in the face of that new order of things which was just about to reverse the fortunes of so many actors in the great drama. "In the twelft yeare of his matie's reigne that now is" indicated a very "bad quarter-of-an-hour" approaching for some who had fought against King Charles the First, and happy was the man who, like Col. Alban Cox, the honourable member for St. Albans, found old feuds forgotten, and former enemies standing forward as neighbours of old, in time of need to remember an act of kindness shown to them in their day of adversity when it was in his power to have added to their bitter fortunes and humiliation.

Alban Cox lived about five years after the above incident, and at his death in February, 1664–5, was buried in St. Peter's Church, St. Albans. Around the family estate at Beaumonts near St. Albans are several traditions of the friendship between Cromwell and Alban Cox. Here Cromwell himself had occasionally stayed when in the neighbourhood; here an old oak, destroyed by a gale only a few years ago, was said to have been planted by Cromwell; here were preserved not only a pair of jackboots said to have been the property of Cromwell, but also those interesting letters from Colonel Silas Titus and Cromwell which have been quoted. These relics came into the hands of the Kinder family to whom the estate descended by the marriage of one of them (Thomas Kinder in 1754) with Mrs. Coles, a widow and heiress of Thomas Cox, the last male representative of the Alban Cox of Parliamentary fame.

The career of Edward Wingate was, from the temperament of the man and the many strange scenes he passed through, one in striking contrast with that of Col. Alban Cox. When the War began Edward Wingate was member of Parliament for St. Albans, his colleague being Sir John Jennings. We have seen that Alban Cox had charge of the organizing of the first Volunteer force in the St. Albans part of the County, but there was another function equally important, and that was to stimulate the bringing in of "money and plate" from the well-to-do inhabitants who were prepared to make sacrifices for the cause for which Parliament was taking up arms.

For this service Parliament, in July, 1642, sent down Edward Wingate, member for St. Albans. Viscount Cranborne, member for Hertford, Mr. Robert Cecil (member for Sarum), and Sir John Harrison—who had not then gone over to the King—sent them down to attend the Summer Assizes at Hertford, "to advance the propositions for bringing in money and plate."

No sooner had the actual marching of armies begun than Edward Wingate left his seat in Parliament, buckled on his sword, and joined that imposing march of the great Army under the Earl of Essex which the reader has seen passing through St. Albans to meet the King's Army after the raising of the Standard at Nottingham, Aug. 22nd, 1642. Captain Wingate soon gave evidence of his spirit and gained a character for "behaving himself stoutly," but his first fighting experience was brief. He fought in the very first encounter with the Royalists near Worcester, in which Prince Rupert routed a part of the Parliamentary Horse. Shortly afterwards Captain Wingate was taken prisoner and was carried off to Oxford, where his adventures and what he and other prisoners had to endure were matters of interest to Hertfordshire and also to Parliament, as appears by the following:—

On the 31st December, 1642, Capt. Wingate's wife appears before the House of Parliament, and "having lately come from Oxford she reports to the House the hard usage of her husband and the Captains that are prisoners there. She affirmed that they were famished for want of food, being allowed but 1½*d.* a day to maintain them, and some days had not bread or water to eat or drink, so they are consumed away to death and eaten of vermin, and no friends, not their own wives, suffered to come near them to give them relief."†

Efforts were made by Parliament to make an

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† "A true and most sad Relation of the hard usuage and extreme cruelty used to Captain Wingate and others of the Parliament Souldiers." *King's Pamphlets*, Brit. Mus

exchange of Capt. Wingate for one of the Royalist prisoners, but the Committee sitting at Oxford wrote stating that there would be no exchange for him.

Some of Mrs. Wingate's friends took up her case, and brought the matter before the Herts County Committee to get her husband's arrears paid to her, with the result that the following petition was made to Parliament on April 7th, 1643:—

"A petition from divers of the inhabitants of the county of Herts, preferred to the Committee of that county, and this day from them exhibited to this House, desiring that the arrears due to Captain Edward Wingate may be paid. Ordered that the arrears due to Captain Wingate, as captain of a troop of Horse, by him raised at the command of both Houses for the defence of Parliament, be paid unto Mrs. Wingate, or her assignees out of the monthly collections as shall be raised out of the hundreds of Broadwater and Hitchin, in the county of Herts. * * * Ordered that Captain Wingate's tenants be required to pay such rents as are due unto him, and that such as shall refuse be accounted as ill-affected and answer their contempt." [*Commons' Journals*, vol. iii.]

This order some of the tenants or other "rude persons" appear to have resented, and upon some plea of common right, about six weeks afterwards, set upon his premises near Shenley, cut down his gates, and used threats which caused Parliament again to intervene.†

But the unfortunate member for St. Albans is a prisoner in Oxford not by any law which Parliament can control, but by the laws of war, and only by force or strategy can he be released. Six months after his wife's pathetic appeal to Parliament, Captain Wingate succeeded in making his escape from the Royalist Army in Oxford, evidently to the great joy of the people of St. Albans, and of the county as well as of Parliament itself, of which eloquent testimony is thus recorded:—

"About the 3rd of June also came most certain information by letters from Ailesbury that Captain Wingate, a noble and valiant gentleman, and a worthy member of this present Parliament, after a long, tedious, and most cruel imprisonment, and barbarous usage by the accursed Cavaliers, especially at Oxford, having most happily escaped out of prison there * * when the mutinie was there, came safely (though weakly and faintly by his long imprisonment) to Aislesbury, where he was most joyously entertained, * * * whither our most noble Lord General (as was credibly reported) sent his own coach for him, and conveyed him thence to London to the Parliament, where also he was most joyfully received again as a member thereof, with most sweet embracements, and at whose presence such a multitude of people pressed about him, congratulating him upon this his most happy deliverance." [Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle*, p. 344.]

During these summer months of 1643 the honourable members who gathered in Westminster Hall did not always keep their tempers; some of the English and Scotch members drew their swords, and had them taken away from them; and then there was a challenge to a duel. In this electrical atmosphere, Captain Wingate's fighting instinct was soon called into play, and he demands reparation of the Recorder for words alleged to have been spoken; the House intervenes in the quarrel, the Recorder makes it appear that he did not use the offensive words, and Captain Wingate in his place in the House, and by its direction, makes acknowledgment of his error. Whether the hundreds of Broadwater and Hitchin did not yield the necessary funds for the payment of Capt. Wingate's arrears, I know not, but in the summer of 1645 (July 16th) Parliament again ordered "that Captain Wingate shall have the sum of ten pounds per week, upon account, paid to him by the Committee of Revenue till the sum of two hundred pounds be paid to him."

The member for St. Albans appears to have fought in most of the principal engagements of 1644–5. With regard to his presence at the battle of Marston Moor this seems evident from

† "Whereas the House was this day informed that divers rude people have in the night assembled themselves together, and in a riotous manner gone to certain grounds on the Blackheath lying in Shenley parish, in the county of Hertford (being the inheritance of Captain Edward Wingate) which are now sown with wheat and oats, and have sawn asunder the gates, and have taken them away, and do threaten to destroy the said corn by turning in their cattle; there being now a very hopeful crop upon the ground, also to dig down the banks and fences and lay all the said grounds common; it is therefore ordered that the deputy-lieutenants of the said county and all justices of the peace, constables, and other officers, do from time to time use their utmost endeavours to apprehend such disorderly rude persons that have cut the said gates or threaten to commit other outrages * * and to bring them in safe custody to the Parliament to be proceeded against according to law." [*Commons' Journals*, vol. iii, May 20th, 1643.]

the Verney MSS., in which it is stated that Captain Wingate was able to give to Sir Roger Burgoyne information of the losses at Marston Moor, where it was said that "among the slain Royalists left on the field there were two gentlemen for every ordinary soldier." †

In 1646 (March 24th) he was the subject of an order by Parliament that he was to have "the allowance of four pounds per week allowed and paid unto him in the same manner, and from the same time, as other members have received it," but soon after this he was again in the midst of strange adventures, and the strangest of them all must have been that which befel him in 1647, when he got into the awkward predicament of being tried and sentenced to death by the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, at Illingworth Castle. What were the exact circumstances which led up to this I have been unable to trace, but Parliament took the matter up, ordered an inquiry into "the illegal trial and sentence of death against Captain Wingate," and "that he may have reparation against the said Commissioners, and others." He evidently got safely through this, as his many other adventures.

Captain Wingate was one of the Wingates of Harlington, Beds, but his father obtained the estate of Lockleys, at Welwyn; and here, after all the trials and troubles of a chequered career were over, the former Parliamentary Captain, and member for St. Albans, amused himself by making a fair warren and stocking it with "a choice breed of rabbits, all silver haired," and "planting an orchard with walnuts and rarest of fruit trees, and cutting streams from the Mimram for trouts and other fish for the provision of his table."

In his later years he became one of the Commissioners of Excise to King Charles II., and died at the age of 79, and was buried at Welwyn.

THE EARL OF SALISBURY AND SIR JOHN GARRARD.—LORD LIEUTENANT AND HIGH SHERIFF.

It would be but a partial and a very inadequate estimate of the part which the Cecils of Hatfield House have played all through the history of England and of Hertfordshire for the last three hundred years which did not recognise the immense advantage gained in the county for that party in the Great Civil War which could claim on its side the Cecils of Hatfield House, of whom at the outbreak of the War three held seats in the Legislature—William, Earl of Salisbury, in the House of Lords, and two sons—Viscount Cranborne, for Hertford; and Robert Cecil, for Old Sarum—in the Commons. To this advantage there was added another in having both the Lord Lieutenant and the High Sheriff on the side of Parliament. With these two important offices in the county were associated the names of the Earl of Salisbury and Sir John Garrard.

William, second Earl of Salisbury, and son of more famous ministers of State, played a part in the stirring events of his time in striking contrast with that of Lord Capel and other county men who at first championed the people in their grievances but refused to be led to the extreme of a revolution. Unlike Falkland and Capel, the Earl of Salisbury was at first with the King, and turned against him when events were drifting towards an open conflict. He was Lord Lieutenant for Dorsetshire, and in February, 1642, was nominated for that office for the county of Hertford. When the King set out on that march northward, and sent back from Royston and Newmarket those emphatic refusals to the request to give up power of the Militia, the new Lord Lieutenant for Hertfordshire accompanied his Majesty, with other noble lords, to York, and the Earl was one of those who signed the declaration of belief that the King had no intention of making war upon Parliament. Meanwhile the absence of the Earl placed the county in a difficulty when it came to a question of organizing its Militia, and Parliament in June appointed a Committee "to consider how the deputy-lieutenants of Hertfordshire could have power to exercise in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant." The inhabitants of Hertfordshire had thus a double interest in the question whether Hatfield House went for the King or Parliament; and it was a relief to the great majority in the county when news came that the Earl had turned his horses' heads southwards.

For going to the King at York the Earl incurred the displeasure of the House of Lords, and was summoned to appear at the bar of the House, but this order was dispensed with, and here is his Lordship's defence:—

"The Earl of Sarum gave thanks to this House for taking off the order for his coming to bar. He confessed that he hath committed an offence in

† Letters from Sir Roger Burgoyne to Ralph Verney, in the Verney MSS.

going away to York without leave of the House for which he was heartily sorry. He further said that the King sent him express command upon his allegiance to give his attendance, which accordingly he did, and when his Lordship came to York he desired the King's leave to come to the Parliament; but his Majesty commanded him not to go away, yet his Lordship came away without the King's leave."—*Lords' Journals*, vol. v, p. 136.

Apparently his Lordship was unable to accept the oath tendered by the King to the nobles at York—"to bear a true and faithful allegiance to my true and undoubted Sovereign Lord Charles * * and to resist to the utmost hazard of life and fortune all seditions, rebellions, conspiracies, covenants, treasons whatsoever against his Royal dignity or crown, raised or set up under what pretence or colour so ever"; and especially the positive engagement to "defend his Majesty's person, crown and dignity, just and legal prerogatives against all persons whatsoever, and not to obey any rule, order or ordinance whatsoever concerning the Militia that hath not the Royal assent." †

Though the absence, and failure to act at the needful moment, of the Lord Lieutenant resulted in his son Viscount Cranborne being appointed for a time to discharge the duties, the Earl of Salisbury was henceforth one of the most obedient instruments of Parliament, and was selected in all cases where Commissioners were sent to treat with those of the King, including that journey of the Commissioners to the King at Oxford with the propositions for peace when, fearing that his Majesty was nearly starved into submission, the Commissioners carried their own food with them lest they should find none when they came to Oxford! ‡

† This "engagement," which, if adhered to, would stand in the way of serving Parliament in the times that were coming, the Earl, according to Sir Philip Warwick [Memoirs], actually subscribed, and "within a few days afterwards stole away to London."

‡ "And here I cannot omit one strategem, which at that time occasioned some mirth. The common people of London were persuaded 'that there was so great scarcity of victual and provisions at Oxford, and in all the King's quarters, that they were not without danger of starving.' * * To make good this report, provisions of all kinds, even to bread, were sent in waggons, and on horses from London to Oxford, for the supply of this Committee; when without doubt they found as great plenty of all things when they came as they had left behind them." [Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.]

Upon another of those occasions when there arose "a passionate desire for peace," at least on paper, and Uxbridge was assigned for the place of the abortive treaty, the Earl was one of the Commissioners to treat for Parliament, as Lord Capel was one of those for the King. The Earl was also one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, and had a great deal to do with the administrative side of the Parliamentary cause, as distinguished from the use of the sword.

Again, in the winter of 1645, King Charles, having made those flying visits to Huntingdon, Woburn, and other places near the borders of Herts, and then settled down again at Oxford, with little hope of retrieving the fortunes of the Royal cause so completely crushed in the field at Naseby, a great deal of time was spent by Parliament in drafting negotiations with the King for securing that illusive prospect of a "safe and well grounded peace." In these propositions Parliament made some rather comprehensive stipulations on the score of disqualification for office of those members of either House who had deserted their place and sat in the King's "unlawful assembly," and "pretended" Parliament at Oxford; and on the other hand of securing favours and promotions for those who had stuck to the old stock Parliament at Westminster. Among the latter class was, of course, the Earl of Salisbury.

When, therefore, it came to a question of submitting propositions to the King for establishing a new order of things, the Earl's services to Parliament were not forgotten. Fairfax, Cromwell, and Sir Wm. Waller, besides receiving pensions, were to be made barons of the Kingdom of England; the Earl of Essex was to receive a Dukedom, and a similar title to the Earl of Warwick, who became the third husband of Lady Sussex (when her Ladyship turned "towards matrimony again" at Gorhambury), and the Earl of Manchester, her fourth husband, was to be made a Marquis. Concerning the Earl of Salisbury there was this proposition (made Dec. 1st, 1645):—

"Resolved, &c., that the title and dignity of an English Marquis, with all Rights, Privileges, Preeminencies, and Precedencies, to the said title and dignity belonging or appertaining, be conferred and settled upon William, Earl of Salisbury, and the heirs male of his body, and that his Majesty be desired, in these propositions, to grant and confer the said title and dignity upon him, and the heirs male of his body accordingly, and that it be referred to the former Committee, to con-

sider of a fit way and manner for the perfecting hereof?" †

But "these propositions," like so many others of their kind, came to nothing, and so the Essex title came to the Capels as an Earl instead of a Duke, and the title of Marquis had to come to a Cecil of a later date, in 1789.

Five years after the Earl of Salisbury had come away from York, "without the King's leave," and against the King's command, a strange conjunction of circumstances brought his Majesty as a guest to Hatfield House, when passing through Hertfordshire with the Army in 1647, as already described. There was nothing inconsistent with what had occurred elsewhere, nor inconsistent with the general sentiment towards the person of the King which prevailed among all moderate men, in this act of the Earl of Salisbury in entertaining the King with whom he had differed so widely, but against whom he had not used his sword.

The meeting of the King as the guest of the "violent Puritan," who had deserted his Majesty at York, in the home of the Cecils, presented strange historic contrasts which made it one of those cartoons of history which appeal to the imagination. Between the Cecil who had found it necessary to depart from the traditions of his House, and a King who had helped to strain to the breaking point the historical continuity of loyal service between the Cecils and Royalty, the relationship during those five days and nights in June, 1647, must have been one of considerable delicacy; even if tact and good sense were sufficient to avoid open reproaches. These two men could not have been thus strangely thrown together even as host and guest within walls on which were pictures of Kings and Statesmen, without at least some mute questionings and regrets—"Why did you leave me?" "Why did you make it impossible for me to serve you?" How the King with a lost cause in the home of the Cecils, and the Earl as a partisan of the Parliament, got through the necessary courtesies of the situation for five days and nights in such a place without strained relations can only be left to the imagination of the reader.

In the Isle of Wight attempts at treaty-making between King and Parliament, the Earl came once more in contact with the King; and when, impressed by his Majesty's wisdom and other good qualities, he remarked to Sir Philip Warwick, "the King is wonderfully improved," Warwick replied—"he was always so, but your Lordship too late discerned it."

But though the Earl of Salisbury went consistently with the Parliament and shared such honours as it had to offer in regard to office, his partisanship was never that of the sword. "A violent Puritan" is the character given to him by one whose authority I am bound to respect. A Puritan he was, no doubt, but there is a tradition at Hatfield House which shows that he had a tender regard for some of the associations of his home conflicting with typical Puritan sentiment, and a shrewd estimate of the lengths to which Puritanism might lead some of its less scrupulous agents. The tradition is that when iconoclasm was rampant in the county, pulling down and destroying images and other objects regarded as superstitious in places of worship, under orders from that Parliament of which the Earl was such a consistent supporter, his patriotism and attachment to the old historic associations of his house for the moment outweighed his Puritanism. He "did not like to lose the painted windows of the Chapel, and built up a mound of earth against them in order to conceal them from his friends." So runs the tradition.

This was not the only instance in which Puritanism as well as Royalism halted short of its logical conclusion when home and family attachments became thrown into the balance, and what thereby went to the discredit of the partisan should I suppose be placed to the credit of the man. †

The ordeal which divided men for King or Parliament cut into the family life of more than one Hertfordshire family, and the conflict between natural inclination on the one side and fidelity to principle in the strife on the other must have sometimes put a severe strain even upon family ties. How bravely many a man struggled to be faithful to the two claims of

† *Commons Journals*, vol. iv, p. 361.

† I am aware that Clarendon gives a less sentimental character to the Earl, besides endeavouring to belittle one who had departed from the traditions of his house. "The Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit or interest in the Parliament or country that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them * * They had rather the King and his posterity should be distroyed, than that Wilton should be taken from the one of them or Hatfield from the other; the preservation of both which from danger they both believed to be the highest point of prudence and politic circumspection."—Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.*

kindred and King, which temporarily divided them, is shown in the noble characters of Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Verney, of Clayden House, Bucks; and though the Earl of Salisbury had no such divided loyality of father and son, in regard to at least his two sons who mingled in public life—the two members of Parliament already referred to—he yet had a very real thorn in the Parliamentary side to be in some measure accountable for in his son-in-law. His second daughter, Lady Elizabeth Cecil, had married William Cavendish, third Earl of Devonshire, who was with the King at York, but unlike his father-in-law did not turn back, but stuck to the King. As a Royalist he was impeached by Parliament; and upon refusing to appear at the bar was expelled the House of Lords. An order was passed for his commitment to the Tower, but like many others he fled from the country. His estates were sequestrated, and upon his return and submission to Parliament in 1645, that body put a rather high fine upon the Earl which apparently he had then no means of paying. In fact, a fine of £5,000, and he had to fall back upon his Parliamentary father-in-law to get him out of the dilemma. Thus it came about that when (16 Sept., 1645) the question of pardoning his delinquency was being considered,

"The Committee reported the voluntary offer of the Earl of Salisbury to lay down five thousand pounds, presently, for discharge of his [the Earl of Devonshire's] delinquency and sequestration. Resolved that this House doth accept of the offer of the Earl of Salisbury to pay the sum of five thonsand pounds forthwith for discharge of delinquency and sequestration of the Earl of Devonshire; and that upon payment thereof an order be brought in for the discharge of the delinquency * *"†

The pardoned son-in-law retired and lived for some time with his mother at Latimers (in Bucks), where the King stayed one night about a month after the Earl had been thus bought off by his father-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury.

All through the War the Earl was a regular attendant on the Committee sitting in London, and when it was over and the House of Lords was abolished, he was elected to the Commonwealth Council of State. He was thus more actively concerned with the broader issues coming within the purview of Parliament than of County Committees; and, while he may have had an eye to the management of his own affairs, as appears by his claims arising out of the keepership of Theobalds Park, and in procuring exemption at the hands of the Herts Committee from assessment of his Parks, † the impartial reader may very well take Parliament's own estimate of the Earl's public services, as a set-off against the disparaging estimate of Clarendon.

† *Commons' Journals*, vol. iv, p. 275.

The association of the Garrard family of Lamer Park, Wheathampstead, with one or two interesting events of the War and its issues has an interest which is not confined to any one individual member of the family, though the head of the Garrards of that time deserves a place among the individual actors in the county during the War.

The reader has seen how the county of Hertford was suddenly deprived of its High Sheriff by Cromwell's appearance in St. Albans market and the carrying off Mr. Coningsby at the beginning of the War; an act which resulted in the County being without a Sheriff for the remainder of the year. As soon as Parliament could attend to the matter of appointing Sheriffs without the assistance of the King, it selected Sir John Garrard, of Lamer Park, to fill that office. He was already upon the County Committee, and was also selected for service upon the Grand Committee for the Eastern Counties Association sitting at Cambridge. He was apparently sometimes in command of the County Forces; but, with the above official claims upon him—filling the office of High Sheriff for three consecutive years during the most active period of the War—he did not see much service out of the County. In the crisis of 1644, when the Royalist Army and the King were hanging over the borders of the County between St. Albans and Hitchin, and Major-General Brown was organising a force of Train-Bands to oppose the King, Sir John Garrard was one of those on the County Committee who

† In June, 1644, the Earl of Sarum, finding himself much grieved by the taxes and the assessments made by the Committee at Hertford upon his parks in the county of Hertford "being parks that are ancient and not liable formerly to any taxes and no profit made of them"—he appealed to the House of Lords, and their Lordships sent a declaration to the Committee at Hertford to let them know that the parks of the Earl of Sarum ought to be discharged from assessments and taxes. [*Lords' Journals.*]

represented to the General the difficulty of taking the Hertfordshire soldiers for service outside the County. He was compelled to announce the unwelcome intelligence that the greater part of his own regiment was disbanded for want of pay, and he was confident that "the rest would not march without money," a declaration which owed its origin to the system of taking county forces outside the County while still in the pay of the County Committee, rather than to Sir John's want of allegiance to Parliament.

The association of Sir John Garrard's home at Lamer with the interesting incident of King Charles' flight through Hertfordshire in disguise, in 1646, and his supposed visit to Lamer for the night, has already been referred to [page 62], and I can find no trace of Sir John or his family having suffered for that hospitality to the King in his hour of need.

The Garrard family was a very numerous one, and others besides Sir John appear to have thrown in their lot with the cause of Parliament. With the prospect of the King's return there was a general flutter among those county families who had been on the side of Parliament during the wars, and a natural desire to stand well under the new order of things in which it was expected that old scores would be righted. Except in a few extreme cases of individuals concerned in the death of the late King, the general pardon offered by Charles II., at his Court at Breda over the sea, only required to be accepted by public declaration within forty days to be effectual. In the county of Hertford there must have been many public declarations of loyalty to and accepting the pardon of the King, made and signed before the Speaker of the House of Commons, but the only actual declaration signed by a member of a Hertfordshire family that has come under my notice is one preserved at Lamer Park, Wheathampstead, in the possession of General Apsley Cherry-Garrard, to whose courtesy I am indebted for an opportunity of seeing the document. There can be little doubt that Sir John Garrard made a similar declaration, but the one in question was made by Lady Jane Garrard, wife of his eldest son. Though now much faded and worn, the document is still fairly readable, with the exception of here and there a word :—

"In pursuance of the gracious decree of his most gracious Majesty and Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. ; Given under his Majesties sign manual and privie signet, att his Court at Breda the $\frac{4}{14}$th Aprill last and the first of May last, and ordered by the Commons House to be promulgated and published, I Dame Jeane Garrard of Covent Garden, in the County of Middlesex, do with humble and hearty thankfulness lay hold upon his Majesty's free and general pardon by this Declaration granted, and I do hereby publicly declare that I do lay hold upon his Majesty's grace and favour, and that I am and will continue his Majesty's loyal and obedient subject ; in testimony whereof I do subscribe my name this eighth day of June, in the twelfth year of his Majesty's Reign, one thousand six hundred and sixty.

"This declaration was publicly made the eighth day of June by the above named Dame Jane Garrard before me,
"Har. Grimston,
Speaker of the
House of Commons."

J^e GARRARD.

The above was only one of many such declarations made before Harbottle Grimston by his Hertfordshire neighbours. The Dame Jane Garrard who signs the declaration had not done anything very dreadful, I imagine, against the King. These public declarations were in such cases more of the nature of formal pledges of loyalty for the future than acts of penitence for the past. Sir John himself and other members of the Garrard family had probably made similar declarations, though that of Dame Jane Garrard happens to be the only one preserved among the family papers at Lamer. In Wheathampstead Church there are numerous handsome memorials to members of the Garrard family, with which the estate of Lamer, situate upon high ground about one mile from Wheathampstead, has been associated for the last three hundred years and more.

SIR JOHN WITTEWRONG OF ROTHAMSTED. —SIR HARBOTTLE GRIMSTON, AND OTHERS.

The son of a Protestant family of some note who had fled to England from Flanders to escape the persecution there, Sir John Wittewrong, Knight, of Rothamsted, Harpenden, Herts, was, as the reader may suppose, a Puritan, and took sides with the Parliament. He was placed upon the Herts County Committee for Parliament, and,

at any rate at the beginning of the War, was also one of the Herts Committee who took their turn of duty on the Central Council for carrying on the War in the Eastern Association, sitting at Cambridge. For this sphere he was more fitted by temperament than for the field of war. His name occasionally occurs in connection with the organizing and command of Volunteer forces raised in the county, but the official responsibility for carrying on the War did not, as events progressed, find in him that degree of ardour for the fray which characterised some of the Hertfordshire Puritans. The comparative absence of his name from the usual public sources of information seems to indicate that as the strife was prolonged he found a more congenial occupation in making those daily records of observation on the weather and the crops for which Rothamsted was to continue and increase in fame in after years.

Occasionally when disturbances and acts of lawlessness occurred in the County, Parliament found Sir John a useful and influential agent for magisterial investigation and report, and in that capacity his name occasionally figures in the State Papers of the time. But it is a singular thing that though Sir John Wittewrong was chosen on the County Committee, and as a delegate to the Grand Committee at Cambridge, and must have seen not a little of the earlier stages of the conflict around him, yet in his otherwise interesting manuscript account of his own life and of those of his three wives, he makes, apparently, no reference to the stirring events in the county in which at first he had some share; a clear indication that his sympathies inclined him to those quieter pursuits of human knowledge rather than to the harassing affairs on the public stage around him. This view is confirmed by the testimony of the present owner of Rothamsted, who has given to that germ of daily records and observations, begun amidst the distractions of the old Civil War time, the crowning triumph of becoming a system of experiments of world-wide fame. Sir John Bennet Lawes writes to me on the above point as follows:—

"Sir John Wittewrong kept daily records of weather, crops, and household expenses, but appeared to be desirous to avoid all reference to political subjects, and there is certainly no notice in his journals of the death of Charles I."

Yet, when the Restoration came, it was necessary, in regard to the official position he had held in the county under Parliament during the War, that he should subscribe the form of declaration accepting the King's (Charles II.) pardon, and pledging himself to fidelity to the King in the future. The man who had busied himself in the midst of his public duties for Parliament with laying the foundation for Rothamsted experiments, and who had filled the office of High Sheriff for Hertfordshire in the year of the Protector's death, made his declaration accepting the King's pardon on the 28th day of May, just one day before the full tide of Royal acclaim was to burst over the land. It is interesting to add that this and other declarations accepting the King's pardon by Hertfordshire people were made and signed, like that of Dame Jane Garrard, at the bar of the House of Commons before their Hertfordshire neighbour, Sir Harbottle Grimston, the new Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir John Wittewrong had bought the Manor of Rothamsted in 1640, and about 1650 he was employing himself in the enlargement of the Manor House, the principal front of which still remains as Sir John left it. Cussans (*History of Hertfordshire*) says:—"Not the least interesting memorial of the Wittewronges, preserved at Rothamsted—more interesting perhaps than the portraits as a relic of the past—is a large doll's house, with carved mantelpieces reaching to the ceilings, in the parlour and kitchen, with which ten generations of children have played."

Sir John was created a baronet in 1662, and continued a long and useful life in those quieter pursuits of daily observation, until 1693, when he died.

Foremost of those who succeeded in performing the difficult feat of steering clear of the dangers of the Scylla and Charybdis of King and Parliament, or rather of those who contrived to serve both, and still maintain a public career of some note, was Sir Harbottle Grimston, the first of the Grimstons of Gorhambury. Born at Bradfield Hall, Essex, young Harbottle was intended for the law and entered at Lincoln's Inn, but he loved a maiden better than the law, which he abandoned. Unfortunately for Harbottle, the maiden was the daughter of a great lawyer, Sir George Croke. When the great Judge was approached respecting his daughter's hand, he did not absolutely refuse his consent, but coupled with it a condition that it would be refused unless young Grimston resumed his study of the law which he had so lightly cast aside. This made even the law fascinating, and young Har-

bottle again set his face towards the woolsack, "with the ardour of a lover," and soon acquired a fund of legal knowledge sufficient to win his bride and to gain the appointment of Recorder for Colchester. In the famous Long Parliament of 1640 he was returned to Parliament, succeeded to his father's title, and soon made a figure in the Parliament in those stormy scenes over the people's grievances, in which his epigrams made their mark. He contributed two horses and £20 for Parliament, but with the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 he absented himself from the House for a time.

But when the growing power of the Army made Cromwell a figure in the House, Grimston was again in his element. It is said by Burnet [*History of His own Time*] that when Cromwell in the quarrel between Army and Parliament uttered the famous words about purging the Army, that he was sure of the Army, but "there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the Army only could do that," Harbottle Grimston had the temerity to bring Cromwell's words before the House as a matter of privilege, charging Cromwell with putting a force upon the House. It was this that brought about the historic scene when Cromwell went on his knees upon the floor of the House, and made a solemn prayer to God attesting his innocence with so much fervour and vehemence, and with many tears; and when, after this strange and bold preamble, he made so long a speech * * that he wearied out the House and wrought so much upon his party, that what the witnesses [brought in by Grimston] had said was so little believed, that, had it been moved, Grimston thought both he and they would have been sent to the Tower! * * To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House he resolved to trust himself no more amongst them, but "went to the Army, and in a few days brought them up and forced a great many from the House."

In the famous "Pride's Purge" incident Harbottle Grimston was one of the excluded members and soon after he, with the Earl of Salisbury, was one of the Commissioners for Parliament sent to treat with the King in the Isle of Wight. He was so averse to the proceedings against the King, and his influence with the Army so much feared, that he was imprisoned for a time and discharged by the order of Fairfax on the day of the King's execution upon entering into an engagement not to do anything to the disservice of Parliament or Army.

After a period of retirement he was again returned to Parliament in 1656, was among the members who were not allowed to take their seats and joined in the remonstrance and "appeal unto God and to the good people of England." Upon the abdication of Richard Cromwell, Grimston was placed by Monk on the Committee for summoning a new Parliament, on the readmission of the excluded members was elected one of the Council of State, and in the Convention Parliament of 1660 was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. In this capacity it fell to Grimston's lot to answer the King's letter of April 14th to wait upon him at Breda, and upon the King's triumphal return to London to entertain his Majesty. How thoroughly he played his part on the occasion the reader may judge by the following extract from Sir Harbottle's flattering speech delivered before, and addressed to, his Majesty Charles II. in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, May 29th, 1660:—

"Most gracious and dread Sovereign. If all the reason and eloquence that is disposed in or among the several heads and tongues as are in the whole world were conveyed into my brain and united in my tongue, yet I should want sufficiency to discharge that great task I am now enjoined." Continuing his speech, he said his Majesty's restoration to his native right of sovereignty and the deliverance of his people from bondage and slavery had been brought about by a miraculous way of Divine Providence beyond and above the reach of their understanding. God had been pleased to train his Majesty up in the school of affliction where he had learned that excellent lesson so well of faith and patience. For this his Majesty's name was registered in the records of heaven, as one of those martyrs of whom it is recorded that they through faith in Christ and patience in their sufferings have converted their very tormentors and conquered those barbarous bloody tyrants under whom they have suffered. "Your conquest is incomparable; no story can instance the like, or furnish us an example to parallel it withal. Romans in their triumphs wore laurels for conquering the bodies, your Majesty hath conquered the souls of men; they conquered for themselves, but your Majesty hath conquered for the honour of God and of his people; they conquered with force but your Majesty hath conquered with faith," &c., &c.

However well he had acted the part of a moderate man, chiefly for Parliament, during the strife, the Restoration evidently set an active tongue loose, as in his jerky oratorical humour

we hear him denouncing the actors in the late struggle as "monsters who had been guilty of blood; precious blood, precious Royal blood!" He became Master of the Rolls, and was one of those who sat in trial upon the Regicides.

Wood has described him as "a just judge; very slow, and ready to hear everything that was offered, without passion or partiality. He gave yearly great sums in charity, discharged many prisoners by paying their debts * * * very pious and a devout man * * * much sharpened against Popery, but had always a tenderness of Dissenters, though he himself continued in the communion of the Church." [*Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii, p. 28.]

His blunt speech against the Roman Catholics, as when he described a lenient measure against Catholic Priests by saying "you might as soon make a good fan out of a pig's tail, as a good bill out of this"—lost him some of the favour he had enjoyed. By his first wife, for whom he had returned to his law books, he had six sons and two daughters. "Upon the death of Sir Thomas Meautys [of Gorhambury] Sir Harbottle Grimston married his widow, and purchased of Sir Henry Meautys his interest in Gorhambury, which would have devolved upon him after the death of Lady Grimston." [*History of Gorhambury* by Miss Charlotte Grimston.]

Being thus installed in the home of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon, from whom Gorhambury had descended, Sir Harbottle became a Hertfordshire man; was made Chief Steward of the Borough of St. Albans, under the charter granted in 1664. He died in 1683 at the great age of 90 years, and was buried in the Chancel of St. Michael's Church, St. Albans.

Gorhambury is still in the family of the Grimstons upon whom the title of Earl of Verulam was bestowed in 1790. In 1873 the Earl of Verulam presented to the National Portrait Gallery a portrait, by Sir Peter Lely, of the famous Harbottle, who, like Whittington and the Lord Mayoralty of London, wooed and won his bride and built up a distinguished career by returning to those law-books from which he would fain have fled, and who moreover, by entering into the home of the great Philospher and Judge, Francis Bacon, laid the foundation of one of our noble Hertfordshire families which, like that of the Capels, bridges over the centuries which intervene between the great upheaval of the Civil War and the happier present.

Isaac Puller was a most energetic member of the Herts County Committees, and his zeal and services for the Parliament as the demands of the War increased were recognised by his being called to serve upon the Grand Council sitting at Cambridge. In 1645 when, on the eve of the battle of Naseby, Cromwell's vigorous recruiting about Hitchin, Royston, and Cambridge resulted in that response of the "three score men out of one poor petty village in Cambridgeshire," Isaac Puller was one of those sitting at Cambridge who with Cromwell put their hands to an eloquent appeal for forces to meet the emergency in the expected battle with the King's Army. Again in 1648 it was Isaac Puller (with the then Mayor of Hertford, William Plomer), who interested himself in finding guides for Col. Scroop in the pursuit of the Cavaliers to the battle of St. Neots, and sent off that letter to Parliament, dated from Hertford "past five in the morning 11th July, 1648," giving particulars of the fight at St. Neots.

Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheshunt, member of Parliament for the County, threw himself into the service of Parliament by rousing the enthusiasm of the Hertfordshire people to fighting pitch; and, as we have seen, by his eloquence inspired the soldiers in that midnight march to Hertford to resist the expected attack upon the town by the Cavaliers under Sir John Watts, of Mardocks, when the War was brewing in August, 1642. He did frequent duty for Parliament by his presence and speeches to the County people whenever their flagging zeal needed stimulus, but like some other Hertfordshire men was not favourable to the proposals of the Army Council at St. Albans, and got excluded from attendance in the House when Col. Pride's "Purge" was reducing the adverse majority of votes in the House.

William Leman, member for the Borough of Hertford, was, like Sir Thomas Dacres, a man whose services were in frequent demand by Parliament, and was one of those selected to go and take up the Essex organization in the time when the Committee of that County got imprisoned in the Siege of Colchester in the second Civil War.

Viscount Cranborne, eldest son of the Earl of Salisbury, was on the side of Parliament from the beginning, and to the duties of a member of the Herts County Committee he for a time added those of Lord Lieutenant of the County in place of his father. He also commanded the County

forces within, and sometimes without, the County, but as the struggle proceeded he, like his father, drifted into the Council Chamber rather than the field, and was a regular attendant at the Committee sitting at Derby House, in London.

The Lyttons, of Knebworth, the friends of Hampden, were also on the side of Parliament, and Sir William Lytton sat in Parliament for Hertfordshire in place of Lord Capel upon his elevation to the peerage at the beginning of the struggle. Sir William was also upon the Herts County Committee.

Among others of note connected with the County of Hertford was Sir Henry Mildmay, the owner of an estate at Sawbridgeworth. Sir Henry was member of Parliament for Maldon, Essex; and became one of those who sat in trial upon the King. He is described by the Royalists in the "Mystery of the good old Cause" as the "Prodigy of ingratitude who * * most impudently had the face to appear and sit as one of his gracious sovereign's judges. He is a shallow fellow, by some surnamed Sir Whimsay Mildmay, a pestilential Republican and a rampant Rumper." From which the impartial reader may infer that he was a Parliament man.

It is said that as the King turned to leave the Court at Westminster Hall at his trial he looked at the table on which lay the sword, the mace, and the parchment charge, and said "I do not fear that," and then noticing Sir Henry Mildmay, who had formerly held the post of keeper of the Jewel-House to his Majesty, seated among the Commissioners, he looked him in the face and said, "Oh! You are a precious jewel!"

The fact was that though Sir Henry was among the Commissioners who tried the King, he did not vote and he did not sign the death sentence, yet he was one of those who had to take their trial for the King's execution. His fate was perhaps even worse than that of Axtell, for he, Lord Monson, and Robert Wallop were dragged on a hurdle with ropes round their necks to the gallows at Tyburn and back to the Tower. Their sentence involved the further penalty of being thus publicly drawn to Tyburn and back every 30th January till their death; and, even if this was not carried out, they dragged out a miserable existence in the Tower.

SQUEEZING THE ROYALISTS—LORD HUNSDON AND THE HERTS COMMITTEE—WALLER THE POET.

> Come drawers, some wine,
> Or we'll pull down your sign,
> For we are all jolly Compounders!
> We'll make the house ring
> With health to the King!
> And confusion unto his impounders.
>
> *The Compounders' Song.*

In the foregoing chapters reference has been made to the principal men of action in Hertfordshire on either side in the great struggle. But, as the reader may suppose, there were a great many others who did not fight who found themselves still under the ban of Parliament, either for making contributions to the King or for refusing those levied by Parliament. These individuals obtained the name of "delinquents," and the manner in which Parliament dealt with them for their delinquency, and their personal behaviour in misfortune, form a chapter of scarcely less interest than that of the fighting men of the party. Before noticing the misfortunes of some Hertfordshire men of this type who had to "compound" for their delinquency it is necessary to briefly glance at the system under which this squeezing of the Royalists by the triumphant party in the county was carried out.

Raising the sinews of war in the first instance began on the voluntary principle, on both sides. As the struggle progressed and the demands for increased contributions became pressing, it was found that, like the operation of a modern voluntary rate, while the few ardent partisans were making a conscience of their work, contributing largely and denying themselves for the purpose, a great many of the freeholders of the county who went up in those imposing cavalcades to lay their grievances before Parliament were paying nothing at all for either side. Parliament stepped in with its long, wordy succession of ordinances, at first asking for a loan at 8 per cent. interest, which soon became a regular assessment, with penal consequences for default.

The raising of money by these assessments was the business of the Committee for the Advance of Money; the application of the money to the purposes of the War was the business of the Committee for Both Kingdoms, and the punishment, and distraints upon the estates, of defaulters was the work of the Seques-

tration Committee. These different authorities were reflected in the county of Hertford in the Committee for the safety of the County, and the Sequestration Committee, both of which reported to the Committees in London.

When the Committee for the Advance of Money was formed in November, 1642, many persons had made advances for the service of Parliament, and the Committee's business was to obtain what was in effect a forced loan from all alike without distinction of party. The Committee was appointed upon an order of Parliament that the Public Faith of the Kingdom should be given for re-payments, with 8 per cent. interest, on all loans of money advanced for the public service. The "public faith" certificate for re-payment was granted on condition that the contribution was made within ten days after the assessment was made, and in case of failure orders were issued for the seizure and sale of goods, and for holding estates until paid. Eventually the need became pressing and the force behind the demand so rigorous that the "public faith" grew beautifully less as a security for re-payment.

The first operation in the county was to see that all estates were assessed. The ratio of this capital assessment was $\frac{1}{20}$th of the real estate and $\frac{1}{5}$th of the personal estate. The exemptions were those Royalists who were in arms for the King, whose estates were already taken over by the County Committee and the rents and profits handed over to Parliament, and those whose total property did not exceed £100 in value. Besides this claim to a portion of estates, there were the weekly and other special assessments levied from time to time upon the counties, hundreds, and parishes through the head and petty constables and overseers.

The method of dealing with defaulters was, for the original assessment, carrying them off to prison till they paid or gave security for payment, and for the current weekly assessments summary distraint by the collector and constable, backed up by the Train-Bands if necessary. Many of the original assessments remained unpaid either through indisposition or inability; some endeavoured to evade payment by conveying away their goods, and some by absenting themselves from their houses and putting the collectors to great trouble and expense.†

The system of sequestrating and farming lands by the County Committee had been complained of because the Committee were inclined to be over-indulgent to their Royalist neighbours and letting off friends on easy terms, protecting their own friends and oppressing their enemies; the infrequency of their meetings and the neglect of their duties of sequestration. On the other hand the County Committee complained of being crippled by the opposition of Royalists in the county. The Herts Committee employed a sequestration agent at 4*s.* a day and commission, and a clerk at 2*s.* 6*d.* a day. The Committee met in different towns, though frequently at Hertford and St. Albans. In the later years of their work abuses crept in, and in 1650 the Herts Committee were fined £20 each for not giving in a perfect account.†

The following was the Committee for the Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates, in the County of Herts, appointed by Parliament, June 1st, 1643, viz. :—

Edw'd Atkins, Sergeant-at-law, John Kinge, doctor in physic, Henry Mewtis, senr., Thomas Tookee, Gabriel Barber, Toby Combes, John Pemberton, Litton Faircloth, John Scroggs, and Thomas Sadler, Esquires, the Mayor of Hertford for the time being [Joseph Dalton was Mayor for that year], John Maesh, Isaac Puller, Thomas Meade, William Carter (of Offley), and John Humberston, sen., many of whom sat on the General County Committee.

† The effect of this process of imprisonment and distraint was that sometimes county men who had taken no part in the War got carried off to prison and have had their names handed down to posterity as if they had "fought for the King." Besides these imprisonments there was a constant stream of traffic in carts laden with goods seized in distress in the counties and conveyed to the Guildhall in London, where the sale of these effects took place. These sales made a rare harvest for the dealers, who bought up valuable heirlooms "dirt cheap." The goods were "sold by the candle," and some of the more crafty ones got near enough the elbow of the auctioneer to control the flame. A large buyer named Fletcher was accused that he stood "so near the candle that it goes out at the casting up of his hand, or the wind of his mouth at his last bidding, when others would have bidden more."—[*Reports of the Committee for the Advance of Money*]. The reference is, of course, to the old fashion of burning a piece of candle and knocking down to the last bidder before the flame expired.

† In Cambridgeshire the agent to the Committee played into the hands of the Royalists, and Francis Russell, member for the County, complained of the payment of £80 a year for the small amount of work then required, paid to a man who employed persons to act for him who "were not friends to the Commonwealth." John Tey, one of the Herts Committee, got into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms for contempt of the orders of the London Committee, but on giving in his account of the sale of wood from North Mimms Common, got his discharge upon security to appear again.

At first the Royalists were allowed to compound for their sequestrated estates by the payment of heavy fines in proportion to what the Parliament considered the gravity of their offence, but when the relationship between the adherents of the opposing parties became more embittered, and the struggle became one almost of King or no King, still heavier fines were imposed, and in this way the Royalists were made the means through their private and family interests of contributing to the defeat of their own cause, at the same time lessening the burden upon those who were loyal to Parliament. It was a tremendous power to wield, and the Parliamentary cause was advanced as much by the use and by the dread of it as the Royalists in the field were checked by Cromwell's Ironsides.

Either from indisposition of some of the members, or the unpopularity of the task of making the repeated levies upon the inhabitants of the county, it was sometimes a matter of complaint that Hertfordshire and the other counties did not get their weekly assessments and contributions put in motion so speedily as the necessities of the Army required, and so the principle of devolution had to be extended and names of residents in additional local centres added to the Committee. In this way a net-work of official responsibility for the success of the Parliamentary cause was extended to almost every parish, or group of parishes, and an intelligence department was at the same time secured which it was practically impossible for a Royalist sympathiser to pass unsuspected.

The Parliamentary party could thus bring into play the overwhelming instrument of the civil power to exact from their enemies the very means of defeating them. The defects of it, and often the terror and harshness of it, lay in its local application where it came in violent contact with all the closer ties of blood relationship, and the old and conservative associations of good neighbourhood in country parishes. It was here that there was a terrible temptation, either of abuse by excess of power for revenge, when in the hands of unscrupulous men, or of comparative failure when in the hands of more generous and peaceably disposed neighbours. The executive was, however, so widely and wisely chosen as to play off such opposite elements against each other and to secure the end in view, but not without an inevitable strain upon all the ordinary ties of life which, in spite of the pressure of the times, did not unfrequently assert themselves, proving in our more modern as well as in Pagan times, as Sophocles makes Antigone so bravely declare that :—

> No ordinance of man shall over-ride
> The settled laws of Nature and of Jove;
> Not written these in pages of a book,
> Nor were they framed to-day nor yesterday;
> We know not whence they are, but this we know
> That they from all eternity have been,
> And shall to all eternity endure.

But the times could brook no yielding even to the ties of family life, or the ardent sighs of parted lovers, and in the history of many families of note it was a terrible process of the survival of the fittest, in which the younger sons of many an old Cavalier who had spent his means generously among his friends went to the wall.

The policy of appointing sequestrators in the locality where persons of Royalist sympathies lived, and who consequently had a much better chance of judging the attitude of a suspected neighbour than Parliament could have had, was sometimes made apparent when dealing with the less pronounced of Hertfordshire Royalists. For instance, Lord Hunsdon got suspected by the sequestrators, and they proceeded so far as to sequester his rents and goods, and it was reported to the House of Lords that "some persons do take away his goods at Hunsdon."

The House of Lords discredited their own Committee sitting at Hertford by ordering that the Committee was not to sequester his Lordship's goods, and that the parties who took them away should be sent for to show by what warrant they did it.

Thomas Howe, Thomas Lawrence, and Henry Beane were brought before the House and charged by Lord Hunsdon with being informers against him for the searching of his house at Hunsdon, and upon this their Lordships gave them an admonition to "carry themselves more dutiful to his Lordship for the time to come, and to make their submission to his Lordship," and they were then discharged. But the Herts Committee and the people about Ware knew their man and what had happened at Hunsdon better than their Lordships could do, and a short time after the above incident, in June, 1644, the matter came again before the House of Lords, and this time upon the affidavits of Robert Graygoose and John Wilson, both of Hunsdon, who made oath that—

"On Thursday, the 4th of June, 1644, about six of the clock in the afternoon there came to Hunsdon House, Gabriell Odingsells,

sequestrator, Mr. Barber, second son to Mr. Gabriell Barber [member of the Herts Committee], Edward Heath, Edward Chandler, and Richard Brittayne, all of Ware, and other servants with them, and entered the said House [Hunsdon House] in all or the most part of the particular rooms thereof, breaking open such doors, trunks, &c., as had no keys, and inventoried and valued all the goods therein, leaving charge with divers to see that none of them should be removed out of the said house but by order from the Committee."

The absence of any contrary order or reproof from Parliament this time seems to indicate that the Committee knew more about Lord Hunsdon's doings than Parliament did. Very shortly afterwards the House of Lords made this entry in its journals:—A message was brought from the House of Commons by Mr. Jephson, who said "he was commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses assembled in Parliament to accuse in their name, and in the names of all the Commons of England, and did accuse, John, Lord Hunsdon, of high treason, for adhering to the enemies of the King and Parliament, and they did desire their Lordships to sequester him from Parliament, and to secure his person in safe custody."

Whatever his offence, he had the courage of his convictions, for Lord Hunsdon was present when the accusation was made, and, having obtained leave to speak a few words, humbly desired that there might be a speedy proceeding in this business, "that so his innocency might the sooner appear." The House then committed Lord Hunsdon to the "safe custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, until the further pleasure of this House," and he was sequestered from Parliament.

Meanwhile the enterprising people about Ware could not resist the temptation to "realize" upon his Lordship's valuable goods at Hunsdon House, much to the alarm and distress of his wife and children. His Lordship in a petition to the Lords pleads eloquently, "that since your petitioner's sad misfortune of falling into your displeasure, he is certainly informed that the Committee for Sequestrations in Hertfordshire do intend to seize upon the goods and household stuff at Hunsdon, which if not speedily prevented will prove to the utter ruin and undoing of your petitioner, his wife and children, and upon this he prays for the protection of Parliament, both of his things at Hunsdon and in London, during his imprisonment." The Lords granted this protection until his case had been heard. But their Lordships did not hurry the matter, and Lord Hunsdon in another petition submits the heavy charge of his imprisonment "which is so unsupportable to him in respect of his weak estate," that this alone will ruin him without further punishment unless a speedy trial is afforded him.

Another petition from his Lordship pleaded that he might be enlarged on bail "because his weak state was not able to support him at the charge he is now under." The Lords sent the petition to the Commons asking them to hasten the articles and trial against him, and thinking it fit to admit the Lord Hunsdon to be bailed. The Sequestration Committee at Hertford were busy giving directions for the sale of his Lordship's goods, and were again restrained by order of Parliament, and his Lordship must wait with such patience as is possible! There are many other things of greater moment to think of. What are the goods of a Hertfordshire nobleman, and the articles of impeachment of an individual who is safe in bond, compared with Naseby fights and "crowning mercies" in the field in which a whole nation is concerned?

After another twelve months of weary suspense, on the 20th Sept., 1645, the House of Lords has at least the sense of fairness to try to put an end to this unjust delay. A rather peremptory message goes to the Commons that the Lord Hunsdon having been accused of high treason by the Commons in July, 1644, and no particular charge brought against him, they find they cannot in justice detain him from his place in their House without more particular matter against him, and that they propose to receive him into his place as a member of that House on Saturday, 27th of September, unless before that time they shall receive from the Commons further cause to the contrary.

But the Commons had something to say to the contrary, and the Lords agreed to a postponement for a fortnight, but his Lordship is destined to more weary waiting yet.

In July and August, 1647, when the Houses of Parliament were under the rule of that "horrid force" of City Apprentices; when the old Speakers could no longer attend, and a part of the Lords held that informal meeting at Hatfield House, Lord Hunsdon had a brief respite and actually got elected Speaker over the Lords that remained. A few weeks afterwards, when the Army had restored the Parliament and the old Speakers had returned to their former place, the

affairs of Lord Hunsdon were again reported upon [Sept., 1647], when the House of Commons ordered that "Sir John Evelyn, of Wiltes, do, by the command of this House, at the bar of the Lords' House, in the name of the Commons of England impeach the lords aforesaid," among the number mentioned being that "John Lord Hunsdon shall be impeached of high trason for levying war against the King, Parliament and Kingdom."

At last his Lordship, after years of waiting and suspense, had the satisfaction, when his case did come to an issue—in June, 1648, when Capel and other Hertfordshire men were commencing that desperate struggle of endurance at Colchester—of finding the decision thus recorded:—"That this House will proceed no further upon the impeachment against John Lord Hunsdon."

One of the most profitable of the Delinquents to the Herts Parliamentary Committee, as well as the weakest of Hertfordshire Royalists, was Edmund Waller, the "rich, witty and licentious" poet and Cavalier. A cousin of Hampden, he was born at Coleshill, a curious little piece of Hertfordshire, a hamlet of Amersham, entirely surrounded by Bucks. He entered Parliament at the early age of 16; at first as member for Amersham, and later for Wycombe; and from 1629 to 1640, when Parliaments were not, he spent his time in retirement at Beaconsfield, bemoaning the loss of his wife, and writing amorous verses to Lady Dorothy Sidney, eldest daughter of the Earl of Leicester, in "strains that moved all hearts but hers he wished to move," who rejected his addresses with scorn. In the Parliaments of 1640 he represented a weak reflection of the principles of his famous cousin Hampden, but when Parliament took the field he left the party of rugged principles, and of his wealth sent "a thousand broad pieces" to the King on his setting up his standard at Nottingham in 1642, but remained at Westminster rather than fight.

From this time his principal achievement was the abortive "Waller's plot" for executing the King's Commission of Array and raising forces in the City. But in conjunction with Mr. Tompkins, his brother-in-law, and an agent named Chaloner, they used their tongues too freely in the hearing of a servant concealed behind the hangings, and before the Commission of Array, carried by the beautiful Lady Daubigny in her bosom from Oxford, could be executed, Waller and his confederates were arrested; Tompkins was hung before his own house in Holborn, and Chaloner in Cornhill. Waller, being a rich man, paid Parliament very well for keeping him alive; and so, after an eloquent speech at the bar of the House, he was sent to prison, where he remained until Parliament was in sore straits for paying its soldiers, and thought of Waller and his wealth. In 1644 he was offered a pardon upon paying a fine of £10,000 and quitting the country, which was promptly accepted. After a gay life in Paris, he was allowed through the good offices of Colonel Scroop (who had married his sister) to return to England, and lived upon his estate at Beaconsfield. After this he did two things characteristic of his nature—he wrote a fulsome panegyric on Cromwell and his advent to power, and another he addressed to King Charles II. on his restoration. When the King reminded Waller in a gentle rebuke that he had written a better poem over Cromwell than on himself, Waller replied with ready wit, "Sir, we poets never succeed so well in writing truth as fiction." Remarking that "a stag when it is hunted and near spent always returns home," he expressed a wish to breathe his last at Coleshill; but he was seized with dropsy while at Beaconsfield, where he died in 1687, and was buried in the Churchyard there and a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

MORE "DELINQUENTS."—THEIR FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES.

The humours and the occasional sharp practices of the Parliamentary Sequestration Committee, and the ingenious shifts and excuses of some of the characters with whom they had to deal, give us some glimpses of human nature very like human nature all the world over and at all times. The Royalists were often reduced by their sacrifices for the King on the one hand, and the sequestration of their estates by Parliament on the other, to such straits that one can appreciate the force as well as ingenuity of the plea made by John Pigott, of Abington Pigotts, near Royston, that "he went over to the King at Oxford to escape from his creditors," and that of the old soldier, Capt. Bourne, of Thriplow, that after being a soldier in foreign service he refused to take up arms again on either side; but, being treated by Parliament as a malignant, he was "forced to leave his home and take refuge in Oxford, where he confesses he bore arms."

The case of Sir Henry Anderson, of Pendley, near Tring, affords a curious illustration of the

lengths the Parliamentary Committee of the County sometimes went in the fine art of squeezing the Royalists' pockets when once they got them in their grip. Being informed against for being in arms against the Parliament, Sir Henry, in 1645, asked to be allowed to compound, stated that he had not acted against Parliament, and only went into the King's quarters where a great part of his estate was. At first Parliament fined him £3,170, but afterwards reduced it to £1,730. As the fine was not forthcoming he was committed to the Tower, and Parliament allowed him out of his estate £4 a week for his present maintenance. The fact was Sir Henry had more than his own proper difficulties to account for, and was the victim of a sort of debt-collecting machinery set to work by the Committee. Thus, when Sir Henry was called upon for his own fine he had also to pay £1,000 which he owed to an old lady, a recusant, who being anxious to compound and pay her fine, had got the Sequestrating Committee on to Sir Henry to get the debt out of him to pay it with! Finding one delinquent inclined to purge his offence, but having no money, but having a debt due from another delinquent, the Committee would thus get in the debt and pocket it for the impecunious one's fine. But a more extraordinary move than this was directed against Sir Henry in respect to a relation, a young Oxford undergraduate, William Anderson, of Balliol College, who had been declared a delinquent, but had died in arms against the Parliament. Sir Henry had owed this young man £1,500 (a legacy left him by his father, Sir Richard Anderson), and after the young man's death Sir Henry was summoned to show cause why he should not pay over the £1,500 to Parliament. The matter was compromised by some charge upon Sir Henry's estate, but it shows that it was considered possible to attach the young scholar's money after his death for his acts while living! However, Sir Henry got through it all, paid his fines, and was pardoned 10th June, 1647, the day on which the Army was frightening the City from its headquarters at Royston.

The Royalist cause has often been painted as the cause of the adventurer, and no doubt did draw many young men of a roving habit and few family settlements into the fray without any very strong convictions.

Thomas Brugis [or Bridges?], of Rickmansworth, Herts, being apparently fond of adventure, and a young doctor, gave up such patients as he may have had at Rickmansworth, and went into the King's quarters as a physician and surgeon. Finding it a hard life, and probably often with no pay, his thoughts went back to the patients he had left behind. In 1646, after the King's cause was lost, Brugis settled down at Rickmansworth. But his original offence of deserting his Hertfordshire patients for the King's service could only be purged through the medium of Goldsmith's Hall, where he, in May, 1653, was fined £42 13*s.* 4*d.* His fresh start in business at Rickmansworth, however, could not have been very successful, if, as I suppose, the following entry refers to the same man, and evidently he did not raise enough to pay his fine.

In 1651 the Herts Sequestration Committee, sitting then at Berkhamsted, reported that "the estate of Thomas Bridges, of Rickmansworth, is very small, only £3 10*s.*, which we have secured; he had given over housekeeping before your order, and had only a few old things left." So the adventurous doctor found himself with nothing in the world (but a small interest in some land at Ivinghoe), and no King left to serve, even had he been disposed to renew his adventurous life. †

Sometimes the Royalist, at the impoverished end of his career, found himself declared a delinquent, and yet practically had no estate to compound for and purge himself. Then, to find a wife with a small estate and willing to sacrifice a part on the altar of love was a god-send indeed, as when unfortunate young John Jacklin, of Cambridge, confessed that he had taken up arms for the King, but laid them down again, that he had no estate but a horse which was sold for the benefit of the Commonwealth, but he had now married and expected to get an estate. A fine of £40 was placed upon the married couple.

Men of small estates did not escape, wherever there was anything to lay hold of. Thus, in 1646 we find the Committee for Compounding engaged upon the case of John Clark, of St. Albans, who begged to compound for his

† Another example of adventurous Royalists is supplied by the career of William Tabor, of Cambridge, whose father, Nich. Tabor, had got himself into prison for calling John Lowry, member for Cambridge, an "ass and a fool," and for speaking contemptuously of the Parliament. His son, Wm. Tabor, pleaded that "being a younger son without a fortune, he was misled into the King's Army where he stayed three months and then went into the Parliament's service for two years. He then informed against a gentleman who had been in the King's Army, whose estate brought £400 a year to the State, besides £2,000 in stock; and then this gentleman informed against Tabor, who, to purge himself of his original three months' Royalism, was afterwards fined £56.

delinquency, which was that of being in arms against the Parliament. A fine of £25 was accepted.

Though there was nominally a minimum of £100 value in estate below which the County Committee did not generally interfere—as shown by the case of Thomas Hassell, clerk of Amwell "whose assessment being under £100 he be respited"—yet when the need for money was pressing no such limit was observed, and the Sequestrating Committee went for the smaller fry till even the Royalist who had only his hat to throw up for the King had his wearing apparel assessed! There are cases in the Committee's own reports where they exacted £1 from Royalists having only their wearing apparel of the value of £6 6*s.* 8*d.*

It must not be supposed that every Royalist or person imprisoned by Parliament was imprisoned for actually fighting for the King and against the Parliament. Take the case of Sir William Cowper and his son, ancestors of the present Earl Cowper, K.G., of Panshanger. Here it is as recorded in the *Reports of the Committee for the Advance of Money* :—

"17th Feb., 1643, Sir William Cooper, of the Insurance Office, Hertford Castle. Order for apprehending him and his son and bring them up in custody to the Inner Court of Wards, Westminster to be examined."

"4th Sept., 1643. Sir William Cooper's stock and dividend in the East India Company to be detained in the Company's hands for non-payment of his assessment."

"2nd Dec., 1643. Order that Sir William pay his whole assessment, or that it be levied on his estate."

"16th Feb., 1644. Having paid half his assessment and given security for the rest, a certificate to be sent to the Committee of Examinations to release him from prison."

"20th Feb., 1644. His assessment being paid, the distress and seisure of his stock in the East India Company to be taken off."

"29th Nov., 1644. Again assessed at £1,000."

"16th Dec., 1644. To be discharged on payment of £50; having paid £450 on a former assessment, and £500 being his proportion on oath."

It is evident, therefore, that Sir William Cooper, or Cowper, was taken from Hertford Castle and imprisoned for twelve months, not for active loyalty to the King, as inferred by Chauncy and others, but for refusing to pay the assessment placed upon him by Parliament, in which refusal, having the means to pay, he evidently acted from principle. John, the son of Sir William, who was imprisoned at Ely House, Holborn, at the same time as his father, died in confinement. Sir William returned to Hertford Castle, and lived in good repute amongst his neighbours. †

When the Hertfordshire Royalists had no longer a King to fight for, and Parliament and its Council of State were all powerful, those who had not already done so, were anxious to get rid of the millstone of the County Sequestration Committee, and their agent, from off their impoverished estates, which being let for Parliament in yearly tenancies, had too often got into a deplorable condition. They frankly owned their part in the War in order to get the matter settled, and some, in the spirit of the tender of "conscience money" to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, fearing that their action might be questioned, came forward and asked for their conduct to be compounded for once for all. Of this type was one William Cole, of Shenley, who, "on his own discovery, doubting he is liable to sequestration for delinquency in the first War," came forward and asked to be allowed to compound, and the Committee of Goldsmith's Hall marked their sense of such magnanimous conduct by letting him off with a small fine of £18.

Here are a few other "compounders":—

"Captain Kingsley, of St. Albans. Information that he has been in arms and aided the King against the Parliament. County Commissioners to take examination, and in case of delinquency to secure his estate."

"Sir Thomas Hyde, of Albury, Co., Herts. Information that he very much importuned an M.P. to desert his trust and go to the King at Oxford, and furnished him with £1,500 to raise arms and forces for the King. That he gave the King £100 while at Oxford, and furnished four horses for his service; that he forsook his own house and went into the King's quarters, and that he has paid nothing in proportion to his estate; that he is a grievous oppressor and depopulator, and evaded the law by great bribes; also that he is simoniacal, and sells presentations to livings."

Sir Thomas was summoned to appear and give an account of himself, when he furnished infor-

† At this time Panshanger, the present seat of Lord Cowper, was in the hands of John Slaney.

mation that he owed persons £6,000 mortgage upon his estate.

"Richard (or William) Dagnall, of Tring. Information that he was a confederate with one, William Smith, once M.P., who deserted Parliament and went to Oxford; that he privately conveyed away one, Mat. Spicer, contrary to an ordinance that he was to be punished as a spy."

"Capt. Nich. Luke, *alias* Smith, of Rickmansworth. Information that he was at Oxford, and also at Newbury fight, in arms many months, and active against the Parliament."

"20th Aug., 1647. James Saltonstall, Barkway, Herts. Begs to compound on Ludlow Articles for delinquency—in arms against Parliament."

"14th June, 1647. Fined at ⅛=£226. 26th same month, sequestration suspended, he having paid and secured the fine."

Sir Francis Crawley, of Luton, who got his holiday from the House of Lords at Christmas time, 1642, and went to the King at Oxford instead of returning, had not been forgotten, but had to pay a fine of £958. His relative, John Crawley, was also there, and Reuben Brown, of Luton, his attendant, for waiting upon his master, John Crawley, in the garrison at Oxford, got his estate sequestered also.

A heavy fine for assisting the forces against Parliament was that of Michael Grigge, of Dunstable, Beds, who was pardoned upon a fine of £1,060.

Sir Thomas Soame, Alderman of the City of London, who married the daughter of Ralph Freeman, of Aspenden, and bought the manor of Throcking, was disabled from sitting in Parliament for his loyalty to the King.

Sir Charles Herbert, of Rickmansworth, was assessed rather heavily by the Parliament, and was reported to have a great personal estate, besides £1,000 a year in lands in co. Herts. He failed to pay his assessment, and the mansion and gardens at Rickmansworth were let by Parliament to a Mr. Pester, of London, at first for £50 a year, and afterwards for £60 a year, having been seized by Parliament from Sir Charles Herbert, for non-payment of the assessment.

A distinguished member of the Fotherley's, of Rickmansworth, may fairly be classed as a Royalist. This was John Fotherley, son of Sir Thomas Fotherley, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber of King Charles I. He was made High Sheriff of Herts in 1652, and in 1657 was so far a friend to the Royal cause that he lent Charles II. money during his exile in the Low Countries, of which the following was the King's acknowledgment:—

"I doe acknowledge to have receaved the summe of one hundred pounds sterling of J. F., which I doe promis to repay as soone as I am able.—Bruges, 21 Decem., 1657, Charles, R."

Mitigation in the recovery of the original assessments for the War, from non-combatants, was sometimes made for family reasons or for services rendered; and the man who could command a friend on the County Committee to speak for him was fortunate. Sir John Read, of Hatfield, was a case in point. He had been on the original County Committee, and when it came to the payment of his own assessment, this is what is considerately spoken of him by Mr. Edward Barber, a fellow Committee-man of Hertford:—

"Though Sir John Read is a baronet, he is a very poor one, and can hardly pay his expenses; his wife's jointure being in Oxfordshire under the King's command. He has received nothing from it these two or three years. He lives in a park, and has a few deer, but the show is more than the substance, for he has a poor stock, and only a little money which his father sends him. Yet he has paid his ⅛ in the War, and is grieved to be unable to make loans. He is a rightly, Godly man, very active at Committee, and is a J.P. in suppressing alehouses. I wish all our Knights were as cordial; I commend him to you."

I suspect Mr. Barber had dined with Sir John and made up that touching appeal with Sir John's approval. It was sent in on March 24th, 1646, and in April order is made by the Committee for the Advance of Money that Sir John's assessment be respited, "his estate lying in Oxfordshire, and he being one of the Commissioners for Herts."

Alexander Weld, of Ware, a County Committee-man, got off his assessment on account of previous service, and so did Thomas Mead, of Ware parsonage, who, being one of the County Committee and having voluntarily lent £42, was "left to his voluntary contribution."

Even among those who, by their representative position as members of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, were almost bound to take sides in the struggle, there were

not a few who very cautiously did their duty, and were anxious to plead any ordinary excuse for absence, and especially when they were required to swallow that tough morsel of the Covenant. Thus, on the 16th Oct., 1643, we find Lord Dacre and the Earl of Bridgewater amongst others sending in letters of excuse for not attending the House of Lords to take the Covenant, the Earl of Bridgewater "desiring excuse for his ill-health." But this answer would not do. and the Earl was put in a corner from which it required all his ingenuity to escape with a clear conscience. For, in the month of November of the same year we find from the Journals of the House of Lords "the Clerk of the Parliament made report to this House, that according to their lordships' commands he attended the Earl of Bridgewater to know his pleasure concerning the taking of the Covenant; and his lordship, after reading it, said 'There were many things in it as his heart went along with; but there were other things which he did not understand, and was doubtful of'; therefore he desires time to consider and satisfy himself of them."

The House ordered the noble Earl's attendance and on the 22nd January following he writes to the Speaker an excuse for not attending as ordered. Eventually circumstances were too strong for dissimulation for on the 7th February the House of Lords sent two of its number—Earls Rutland and Bolingbroke—to "again repair to the Earl of Bridgewater on Friday next; at which time if he did not take and subscribe the Covenant this House will understand it to be a refusal; and this the Lords in Parliament think fit to acquaint his lordship with in the meantime that thereby the said Earl may take his resolution in this particular accordingly." This had the desired effect, and the noble Earl, overcoming his scruples, was reported to the House three days afterwards to have "taken and subscribed the Covenant."

There were men of influence and position in the county who continued through all the turmoil to steer an even course, and among these was Ralph Freeman, of Aspenden (High Sheriff 1636), whose father, the Lord Mayor of London in 1633, had entertained the King and Queen at a magnificent banquet at Merchant Taylors' Hall "with all the grand masquers of the Inns of Court in glorious apparel." There at Aspenden, Ralph Freeman, whom Chauncy makes into a sort of merry little practical fat grey man, "did quit all public employment, affected a retired life and pleased himself with the conversation of his children, made his house neat, his garden pleasant, his groves delicious, his children cheerful, his servants easy, and kept excellent order in his family." A wise man, whose only offence leaned to virtue's side, for his only action against Parliament was extending his hospitality to young Seth Ward, the Buntingford Free School boy, when the latter got into trouble at Cambridge.

Seth Ward had gone from the Buntingford School to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and in 1643 he and other collegians, with the Master of the College, were removed to a prison in St. John's College. Their loyalty to the King was apparently of an academic kind, for young Ward and two others had produced a treatise against the Covenant. As soon as he got released Seth Ward returned to Aspenden, was hospitably entertained by Ralph Freeman, and soon afterwards advanced along that career of promotion which ended in his being Bishop of Salisbury.

Others there were, like good old Ralph Jermyn, "the faithful worthy patriot of Anstey," who, after living 55 years in happy wedlock, passed away within a few months of his wife's death, in the year 1646—too old in the flesh to wield his sword he was yet with the Royalists in spirit, and passed away in the illusive gloaming of a stormy day, spared to see the end of the worst of the fighting, laying down his life in a lull of the storm amid the respect and affection of his neighbours and friends——

Rest now in silence, you have got the bays,
You have fought the fight and finished your dayes,
Belov'd of country, towne and freends,
Of all respected, honour'd to your ends.

PART THE THIRD.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

CONDUCT OF SOME OF THE HERTFORDSHIRE CLERGY.

> So, incomplete by his being's law,
> The marvellous preacher had his flaw;
> With step unequal and lame with faults
> His shade on the path of history halts.
>
> *Whittier.*

In the third and concluding division of these chapters it is proposed to give some account of the effects of the Great Civil War upon the religious, social, and domestic life of the people of Hertfordshire.

In the great struggle which for years tore the country in halves, there were really two kinds of warfare—the civil and the ecclesiastical, and the presence of a strong Puritan element in the conflict, emphasized by the religious cast which Cromwell's example threw over every formal act, whether military or civil—rocked the cradle of the *odium theologicum* to a degree which made each man's shibboleth of more importance than his politics. Considering the temper of the times, therefore, and the large extent to which the doctrinal aspect of religion was made a matter of open controversy, it is not surprising that the clergy were, by the necessity of their position, brought into a prominence which made it hard for them to avoid committing themselves in their sermons and provoking some of their parishioners to retaliate. Hence the proportion of clerical sequestrations in Hertfordshire was much greater than those among laymen.

You have only to look through almost any parish register, or list of incumbents in a parish during the twenty years 1640-60, to see the significance of the many gaps in the regular order of parochial clergy, or the frequent changes from one name to another, to realize what an ordeal it was both for incumbent and parishioners. In some cases those changes mean that the incumbent was in the Fleet prison, or was living in his parish under the necessity of standing by while some valiant Independent held forth in his pulpit. In many cases the clergyman often found his pulpit occupied when he was entitled to be there himself, or his discourse was openly challenged in not the most edifying manner before the whole congregation. It is not surprising therefore to find that the more impulsive of the clergy were sometimes led to utter things which brought them into open conflict with the Parliament, to say anything against the authority of which was almost an unpardonable sin. On the other hand, the conduct of many of the clergy had been largely responsible for the acute stage which the religious side of the controversy had reached when the War began, and it was not without reason that those of the clergy having leanings towards Puritanism were opposed to the extremes being introduced into the Church which, on the one hand elevated formalism into a religion, and on the other had secularised the Sabbath by the acceptance of the *Book of Sports*.

It is not necessary to regard the conduct of the clergy through the highly-coloured spectacles of the Parliamentary chroniclers to see that there was much in that conduct in many parishes which was not only out of harmony with, but entirely opposed to, the strong Puritan sentiment which prevailed in many parts of Hertfordshire. The fatal mistake, at such a time, of the Stuart Kings, James and Charles, in throwing, by means of the *Book of Sports*, the weight and authority of the Throne into the down grade, in regard to

the Sabbath, and the High Church policy of Laud, were two forces reflected so strongly in many parishes in the county that the Puritans, shocked on the one hand by the whittling away of the hold of the Sabbath as a religious institution, and on the other by acts of sacerdotalism within the Church, found it impossible, with their views of religious life and doctrine, to refrain from open conflict with many of the clergy whose secular or Romanising tendency was equally offensive to them.

The general character given to the extreme men among that large part of the clergy who openly impugned the authority of Parliament, and took sides with the King, the Cavaliers, and the ritualism of Laud, has been placed on record by a Hertfordshire man, John White, of Bushey, a man whose name is well known to students of the literary annals of the time.

John White's portraits, in the *Century of Malignant Priests*, † of the more notable of the Royalist clergy may perhaps be considered too highly coloured to be regarded as serious history. At the same time they were not the result of personal slander and recriminating gossip, of which there was no end in every parish; but, being issued by authority of Parliament, they show us the Parliamentary point of view, and, as that estimate must have been derived from information supplied by the clergyman's own parishioners, or from some of them, we may at least take advantage of White's account as an indication of what was the unfortunate state of the parishes in which such things happened, remembering in fairness that they did not represent the bulk of the clergy of the county, many of whom were loyal to their sacred calling. The conduct of the clergy who suffered the loss of their livings for their loyalty to the King may, I suppose, be judged somewhere between the two extremes of White's *Century* and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, but in order to understand the grounds alleged for so large an interference with the clergy of the county as we shall see presently, it will be necessary to give some extracts from the *Century*, by the side of Walker's testimony where that is available and to the point. I take the accounts of the Hertfordshire "malignants" from White in the order in which they stand in the book:—

"The benefice of Philip Leigh, vicar of the parish Church of Redbourn, in the county of Hertford, is sequestered for that he is a common drunkard and haunter of alehouses, usually drinking healths, and pressing others thereunto; a common swearer and quarreller, and hath expressed much malignancy against the Parliament."

Walker says he was turned out about August, 1643.

"The benefice of John Gorsuch, doctor of divinity, rector of the Parish Church of Walkern, in the county of Hertford, is sequestered for that he is a common haunter of alehouses and taverns, and often drunke, and oft sitteth gaming whole nights together, and is seldome in the pulpit preaching scarce one quarter; and hath often denied many of his parishioners the sacrament of the Lord's Supper * * and refused to administer it to such as would not come up to the railes, and endeavoured to hire one Joanes to ride a troop horse for Prince Rupert to serve under him against Parliament, saying withall, he had a snotty-nosed jade to send to the Parliament to poison the whole band, and hath published a wicked libel against the Parliament that some of the lords, whom he named, were fooles, bastards, and cuckhoulds."

There is another story which states that Dr. Gorsuch was smothered in a hay-mow; that "Fairclough, of Weston, acting rascall under Manchester, sent a body of rebels to seize and eject Gorsuch for Smeath, vicar of Weston; Gorsuch betook himself to a hay-mow and there lost his life." Another account, however, shows him resisting the sequestration by carrying off the corn from the glebe land "to the great prejudice" of Mr. Ward, to whom the Vicarage had been sequestrated, but Mr. Ward was able to withhold £20, the fifth due to Dr. Gorsuch's wife."

Walker says the charge against Dr. Gorsuch was "the hackney one of drunkenness and gaming," and admits that he may have used the language attributed to him, and in that respect does not defend him; but says "that which carrieth the greatest venom in it, is that he had

† "The first Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests, made and admitted into benefices by the Prelates in whose hands the ordination of ministers and the government of the Church hath been; or a narration of the causes for which the Parliament hath ordered the sequestration of the benefices of several ministers complained of before them, for vitiousnesse of life, errors in doctrines contrary to the articles of our religion, and for practising and pressing superstitious innovations against the law, and for malignancy against the Parliament. Ordered to be printed by the Committee of the House of Commons, Nov., 1643."

endeavoured to hire one Jones to ride a troop horse for Prince Rupert, to serve under him against the Parliament."

"The benefice of Joseph Soane, vicar of Aldenham, is sequestered for that he is a common gamester, a common alehouse haunter and frequently drunke, and a common quarreller, and hath called the Parliament soldiers under the command of his Excellency, the Earl of Essex, 'Parliament doggs.'"

Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*) says Soane was "a very prudent, pious, and learned man," but we shall meet him again presently in more impartial company, and the reader must judge.

"The benefice of James Mountford, of the parish of Tewin, in the county of Hertford, is sequestered for that he hath refused to deliver the sacrament to his parishioners, not coming up to the railes, though some of them begged it with tears; and openly reviled them for not conforming to that superstitious innovation, calling them doggs, rogues, and beggars, and presented them to the Commissaries Court for the same to their great damage and vexation; and hath published in his Church the *Book of Sports*, on the Lord's day, and commended the same, and hath publicly in his sermons affirmed that preaching is not necessary for the sanctification of the Sabbath, and that the Sabbath was made for ministers to rest in as well as for the people. * * * And the railes being removed he placed formes instead of them, making the people kneele at them to receive the Lord's Supper. And hath preached that if the King set up flat idolatry we should all submit and not take up armes as some do now."

Walker says he was brother of John Mountford, of Anstey and Therfield, and that "he is also put into the *Century* to keep his brother company, and that he was charged with the notorious crimes of obedience to the rules and orders of the Church, and refusing to aid in the rebellion."

When the living was sequestered in favour of Mr. Dixe, it was ordered that £13 6*s.* 8*d.* be set aside from the profits of the Rectory for the maintenance of Dr. Montford's wife and family.

"Griffith Roberts, vicar of Ridge * * neglected the public fast, employed neighbours to carry home wood for him on fast day, and openly declared * * * whoever sent horses, money, or plate to the Parliament were traitours, and that this land was governed by children and fooles, and that the Parliament had done that that they must die for, even the best of them, if ever the laws were settled." He was also accused of being "a tipler in alehouses, a drinker of healths, quarrelling with them that will not pledge him therein."

"The benefice of John Mountford, D.D. [brother of James Montford, D.D., of Tewin, and both sons of a D.D., former vicar of Tewin], Rector of the Parish Church of Anstie, in the county of Hertford, is sequestered for that he hath introduced into his said Church, and other Churches, a turning of the communion table altar-wise, and having a great crucifix and picture of the Virgin Mary in the east window over the said table; used bowings and cringings before the said table, and crucifix altar-wise, and caused the said table to be railed in, and the Jesuit's badge to be set upon the carpet there, compelled the people to come up to the railes, there to kneel to receive the Sacrament, teaching that God was always present at the altar by the presence of His grace, and was therefore to be bowed unto."

Parliament ordered the picture to be pulled down, but Dr. Montford, who with his ritualism also combined an advocacy of the *Book of Sports*, "did arrest the Churchwardens of the said parish, and the glazier for pulling down the said scandalous pictures in the said window, in obedience to the orders of Parliament;" and further he "usually inveighed against those who went out from his said Parish Church to hear sermons when they had none at home; and hath preached against praying extempore as unlawful, and hath in his absence substituted a very scandalous curate, very superstitious in his practices, who preached that the conscience was never made quiet that could not be content with one sermon a day on the Lord's day." He was also accused of calling his parishioners "rebells," and Dr. Montford, the rector, "upheld him against the parishioners."

Walker says he was sequestered from Anstey in September, 1643.

But Dr. John Montford's principal cure was at Therfield, held under the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. From this he was sequestered in August, 1643, in favour of Marmaduke Tennant. The living was not, however, very readily given up, and notwithstanding the order of the Sequestration Committee, passed by the House of Commons, Dr. Montford still made a claim for the tithes, and sued some of the inhabitants of the parish in the Court of Queen's Bench for them, and laid claim to the Rectory. He was

accordingly summoned before the Committee for Plundered Ministers for his contempt. The matters in dispute were referred to counsel on either side to determine, and the parishioners, Matthew Frost, Edward Preist, Lawrence Sell, and William Brown, were ordered to pay their tithes to Mr. Marmaduke Tennant, to whom the Rectory had been sequestered.

In April, 1643, Dr. Montford had petitioned the Committee for raising money, that being assessed at £300, or above others of his rank and ability, he had been sent to prison, that nine horses with arms, &c., value £100, and his library, value £1,000 at least, had all been taken for this assessment of £300. He begged for his liberty "on which depends the fortune of his family and of divers other fatherless children committed to his charge by their deceased parents." The Committee made order that as sufficient had been taken as security for his assessment "Dr. Montfort be not further molested, in person or goods till further order."

On the other hand, it is said that the cause of his sequestration was his zeal for the Church of England; that his sequestration from Therfield was made at a time when it was a peculiar hardship to him—that "they just permitted him to build the parsonage house, new almost from the ground, and then turned him out without suffering him to sleep one night in it (or but one at most) though it cost him a thousand pounds." †

"The benefice of Henry Hancocke, of Fornax Pelham, is sequestered for that he preached that it is as lawful for a woman if she dislike her husband to leave him and take another as for one to go out of his parish to hear another minister, and that to go to another church was as the sinne of witchcraft and idolatry; called his parishioners, who were religiously affected, Puritans and Roundheads, and after the fight at Edgehill, said in his sermon that he was overjoyed to thinke that God should put it into the heart of the King to fight the Lord's battell on the Lord's day to uphould the ould antient Catholic Faith; and fearing the pulling up of the railes about the communion table, he walked with his sword about the Churchyard in the night saying he would rather lose his life than suffer them to be pul'd up, and that if the Bishops should command him to wear a kittle upon his head he would doe it."

Then there follows the stereotyped charge that he was a "common tipler and haunter of alehouses, and a prophane swearer of bloudy oathes."

Walker says he was placed in White's *Century* "because he urged the duty of Parochial Communion, preached against the Puritans, and prevented the profanation of his communion table, and rejoiced in his Majesty's victory at Egehill, after which followed the hackney accusation of tippling and swearing."

The Minutes of the Committee for Plundered Ministers [Add. MSS., Brit. Mus.] show that an allowance was made to Mr. Hancocke's wife.

Christopher Webb, vicar of Sawbridgeworth, was accused of being a common drunkard, of neglecting his cure and not suffering others to preach when he would not preach himself, and "hath expressed much malignancy against Parliament, affirming among other things, that he hoped in God, he should see the confusion of Parliament."

Referring to the accusations of drunkenness and neglecting his cure, Walker says, "but undoubtedly the true cause of his sequestration was his having said he hoped to see the confusion of Parliament."

Christopher Webb was also rector of Gilston, and was sequestered from that living by Parliament, and Mr. Thomas Mockett, M.A., was appointed in his place. At the Restoration Christopher Webb was restored to both livings, and at Gilston there was a characteristic scene when he came down on a Sunday to publish in the Church the order for securing him the tithes, etc. Mr. Mockett, the Commonwealth minister, refused to allow it to be read, Mr. Webb called in a magistrate (Mr. Humphrey Gore) who caused it to be read, when Mrs. Mockett came to her husband's aid by snatching the document from the magistrate's hands and detaining it.

Richard Taylor, of Buntingford, Westmill, and Aspenden, is alleged to have mixed up sacred and secular things somewhat freely, setting up a cross upon the font and bowing to it upon every approach, "urged some of his parishioners to make auricular confession to him, affirming that he could forgive them; used to hire servants to ride journeys to buy wood, and send hopps to market on the Lord's day, and upon the dissolution of the late Parliament said if he were the King he would never have a Parliament more while he lived; there was no need of a Parliament, and that the last Parliament was the weakest that ever sate."

† Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

John Syddall, vicar of Kensworth, Herts, is presented in each of the two following lights :—

"The benefice of John Sydall, vicar of the parish Church of Kensworth, is sequestered for that he is a common frequenter of alehouses and commonly drunk; and hath several times refused to administer the sacrament to such as would not come up to the rails to receive the same. And when the rails were taken away he said it was the beginning of the abomination of desolation, and that whoremongers and drunkards are as excusable as those that goe from their own parish to hear sermons, and that Papists were better subjects than Puritans." [White's *Century of Malignant Priests.*]

"After his sequestration he offered to officiate in his church but was dragged out of it by the parishioners, and at length driven out of his house likewise and died in two months after, hastened to his grave, as all believed, by his sufferings. Soon after his Vicarage was supplied successively by a weaver and two ploughmen." [Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy.*]

Between these two accounts—the martyr and the drunkard—there was probably something against Mr. Syddall; and, as White adds "malignancy against the Parliament," the greatest of all sins just now, Mr. Sydall has to go and "Master Harrison," the great demagogue and Baptist, takes his place.

Herbert Thorndike, rector of Barley, got sequestrated from his living for his adherence to the King, and the authorship of several works in defence of his cause. It happened that Thorndike was a candidate for the Mastership of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. While the election was proceeding and it looked like Thorndike getting the majority of votes, a band of soldiers rushed in upon them and forcibly carried away one of the Fellows, who was voting for Thorndike, and this left the number for Mr. Mynshall, including his own vote, equal to those of Thorndike. The King heard of the affair at Oxford, and sent for an account of the proceedings, and eventually Mynshall was installed in the Mastership upon paying the charges incurred by Thorndike and the Fellows who supported him.

HERTFORDSHIRE CLERGY AT THE BAR, AND IN PRISON.

Some of the most notable scenes which disturbed the peace of Hertfordshire villages and centred around the conduct of Royalist clergy were those which occurred at Aldenham, Herts where the Vicar, Joseph Sone, Soane, or Some—for the name is spelt in many ways—spoke his mind about the "Parliament dogs." On the 6th day of May, 1643, he stands there visibly at the bar of the House of Lords to answer the charges against him.

"The charge was read, his answer was demanded, and he pleaded he was not guilty of the misdemeanors. Hereupon this House proceeded to hear the witnesses to prove the particulars. Witnesses to prove that he is a common gamester and quarreler—Thomas Abbott, Rich'd Downer, Zacheus Gould. To prove he is a common alehouse haunter — Zacheus Gould. To prove that he called the Parliament soldiers 'Parliament Dogs'—Edward Fendal and Roger Carter." †

The result was that Mr. Sone was sequestered in favour of John Gilpin, Master of Arts. But the House of Lords was destined to hear more of Mr. Sone. One of the first acts of Mr. Gilpin, the minister appointed by Parliament to supersede Mr. Sone, was to hold a baptismal service. This was on Whit-Monday, 1643, and a great crowd of people assembled. Mr. Sone, in defiance of Parliament, with his supporters was able to prevent Mr. Gilpin from getting through the service, and the child had to be carried away unbaptised. Then there was a sort of indignation meeting of Mr. Sone's supporters held in the church, when the "multitude cried out they would have the said Soane to be their minister still," and there is a glimpse of one Mr. Edmund Roiden, of St. Stephen's parish, who "animated the said Soane on the premises." Upon the affidavit of Richard Axtell, Parliament ordered Joseph Sone and his supporters in this affair to be sent for as "delinquents," and on 30th of May, 1643, a few days after Whitsuntide, Mr. Sone appears again at the bar of the House of Lords, when Richard Axtell, Joseph Harris, and Henry Edwards proved "that Soane caused a mutiny and disturbance in the Church of Aldenham, whereby a child could not be christened; and that he challenged a man in the churchyard to fight, and would not suffer the minister appointed by the Parliament to officiate there, to preach."

The House thereupon ordered Mr. Sone off to the Fleet prison "there to remain until he petition this House and promise never to do the like again."

† *Lords' Journals.*

Mr. Sone found the Fleet prison too much for him, and after a fortnight's confinement, on June 13th we find the House of Lords considering "the humble petition of Joseph Sone. It is order'd that he shall be released from his imprisonment, promising to perform and obey the judgment of this House." Mr. Sone had no sooner got back to Aldenham, however, than he defied the Herts Sequestration Committee by refusing to give up the Vicarage house and the glebe, and, again upon the affidavit of Richard Axtell, he was sent for once more to the bar of the House of Lords to answer his contempt, and the Committee at Hertford was directed to put Mr. Gilpin in possession.

But Parliament had to deal with both the parson and the squire, and there was to be no peace at Aldenham for some time. If ever Mr. Gilpin got possession, he was immediately replaced by a Mr. Randall, who was frequently called to account for not allowing to Mrs. Sone, wife of the sequestered Vicar, her fifth of the emoluments according to the rule laid down in such cases. The dispute was further complicated by the action of Sir Job Harby, lord of the manor, who, being prevented from getting Mr. Sone in again, set up his own nominee, against the one of Parliament, in Mr. Thomas Horwood, who was represented to Parliament as "malignant, scandalous, and very unfitting for the place; the parish being very great and wide, and near a 1,000 communicants, and very ignorant."

Against Mr. Horwood it was further alleged that he "hath lived in the King's quarters duringe the differ betwixt King and Parlyment," that "he had been very active to withdraw men's harts and affections from the Parliment to syde with the King's partye, and so went up and downe to pswade men;" that he had often called "the honourable Parliment, Rebells and Traitors;" that he had "caried himselfe verry supstitiously amongst us in Kneeling, downe to his devotion upon the staires leading up to the pulpit when hee went up to preach in the time of publique dutye."

As to Sir Job Harby, it was alleged that he was a "discorrager of those Godly ministers which the honourable Parliment hath placed amongst us in not paying their dues, and will shew them no countenance;" that he had been very urgent to have the Common Prayer read; a great countenancer of malignant ministers which the Parliament had cast out; and "was the verry cause of Mr. Horwood, whose malignancy would appear, being placed amongst them."

Eventually the parishioners appeared to have thought that they might go further and fare worse, and so the former "malignant" vicar, Joseph Sone, found his way back as Vicar of Aldenham, and thus got his own again long before the King, or rather the King's son, got his. So the game of King and Parliament was played out on a small scale in the village of Aldenham.

Walker, in referring to the accusations against Mr. Sone, says "that which made him both 'gamester' and 'drunkard' was his calling the Earl of Essex's soldiers 'Parliament dogs,'" and adds that several in the parish could testify that he was a "prudent, pious, and learned man."

Mr. Sone remained Vicar of Aldenham for forty years after the above scenes were enacted, until he died in 1683, having in 1665 addressed to his parishioners some earnest lines upon the awful visitation of the plague:—

Reader whatever thou art, rich or poore
Rouse up thyselfe for Death stands at the door,
His very breath is so infected growne
He poisons everyone he breathes upon.
Seven years sence a lettell plaug God sent,
He shoke his rod to move us to repent.
Not long before that time a dearth of corne
Was sent to us to see if we would turne;

* * * *

Grasse was soe short and small that it was told
Hay for fower pound a load was dayly sould.

* * * *

Let all infected houses be thy text
And make this use that thine may be ye next.

* * * *

The watchman that attends the house of sorrow
He may attend upon thy house to-morrow.

The parish of Watton, overshadowed by the Royalist family of the Butlers, was another parish which had its vicar carried off to the House of Lords and to prison. William Ingoldsby, the vicar of Watton, confessed at the bar of the House of Lords that he preached that "those that have taken the Protestation, and do fight against the King, they were forsworn; but denied that he ever spake anything against the Parliament." "Then these witnesses were produced"—says the record — "Edward Miles, Thomas Waight, Thomas Heath, John Teereman, and John Myles. A printed book of his making was produced, full of malignant expressions and imputations upon the proceedings in Parliament. The said Mr. Ingoldsby being called in and asked whether he will own the said book, he confessed he published the said book."

So Mr. Ingoldsby is marched off to the Fleet Prison, and a Mr. Wells is installed in his place at Watton. The usual term of imprisonment in such case was for so long as it took the offender to humble himself, petition Parliament, and promise not to do the like again, and this Mr. Ingoldsby did a short time afterwards.†

The minister appointed by Parliament to succeed the sequestered Vicar did not find a bed of roses—did not always get his tithes, some of the parishioners withholding them on principle and others from less creditable motives, and yet the Parliament minister had to comply with the standing ordinance of Parliament to pay over one-fifth of the emoluments to the displaced Vicar's wife and children.

The parish of Kimpton afforded an instance of the difficulties which sometimes arose and of the trying experience of residence in a country village in those distracting times. Thomas Faucette, who was vicar of Kimpton when the War began, happened to be brother of Colonel Faucette, his Majesty's Governor of Woodstock, and in 1643, after a short incumbency of three years, was sequestered and got himself twice imprisoned, once at St. Albans. Walker says he was "a bold man, and utterly refused to pay the wicked taxes laid on him and other loyalists to carry on the Rebellion, until the King did in a manner give him order to do it by saying to Col. Faucette, 'Why should your brother ruin himself when he can do me no service by it?' His sequestration at Kimpton had something very peculiar in it; which is, that in truth it was rather an act of favour than cruelty to dismiss him, for his wife made it appear before the Committee sitting at Hertford that when all the taxes and impositions laid on her husband were paid he had not £10 a year left, out of which also he was to quarter four men and three horses."

The same authority says that Mr. Faucette's successor, John Starr, "had the grace never to pay one farthing or so much as the fifth to the late rector."

Parliament did generally see that the incoming minister paid over the "fifth" to the deprived vicar's family, but in other cases besides that of Kimpton there was very little out of which to pay it, or for that matter for the new minister to live upon. Thus, in 1645 the Committee sitting at Hertford had before them the claim of Mrs. Newman, wife of the ejected vicar of Datchworth, and they decided that Mr. Peck, the Parliament minister, should be released from making any payment to the support of Mrs. Newman and her children, as the said Mr. Peck had nine children of his own to maintain, and Mr. Newman, the ejected vicar, had also been turned out of a living in another county, from which (though it is not stated) his wife and family may have been receiving their "fifths."

When Parliament sequestered the Royalist clergyman and appointed its own minister, the latter sometimes quailed before the ordeal of a clamorously divided congregation. The sequestration of the rectory of Little Berkhamstead, Herts, for instance, was attended by a good deal of trouble of this kind. The sequestration was from Mr. Falthrop to Mr. Cradock. But Mr. Falthrop did not mean to be sequestered, and made it unpleasant for Mr. Cradock, and the Committee made a special order for Mr. Falthrop to give up the parsonage house to Mr. Cradock.

The old rector, however, stuck so tight to his parsonage that Mr. Cradock either could not, or was not disposed to, press the matter, and was called to account himself for not officiating as minister. In fact, Mr. Cradock gave up his hopeless task and another minister was tried in Mr. Abraham Bush, Master of Arts, "a godly and orthodox divine," who was ordered to officiate and to "preach diligently to the parishioners," in return for which he was to have for his pains the glebe and parsonage house. But Mr. Falthrop still had something to say and stuck to his attitude of no surrender. After a great deal of documentary warfare, the Committee sitting at Hertford was put on to the business of getting Mr. Falthrop out, and to "settle the sequestration of the rectorie of Little Berkhamstead in possession of the parsonage house and glebe, and to call to their assistance all constables, trained bands, and other officers they shall think meet; and the Sargeant-at-Arms or his deputies are to take and keep the said Mr. Falthrop in safe custody."

This energetic measure had the desired effect, Mr. Falthrop was marched off to prison, and in a few days he relented, petitioned for his release, and was "discharged from imprisonment, paying his fees." Mr. Falthrop was also accused of trying to induce young men of Little Berkhamstead not to serve in the Parliamentary Army.

† Twelve months afterwards we find one Rich'd Fincham allowed, on petition to Parliament, "to take his remedy at law against the Rectory and Parsonage of Watton for recovery of his just debt owing him by Wm. Ingoldsby, clerk."

Walker says that the chief article against him was that he dissuaded persons from the service of Parliament, whereas "the only proof was that the only son of a parishioner named Hill was resolved to go as a Volunteer into the Parliament's Army, and the old man came to the Vicar to dissuade him from the project."

Robert Parey, or Porey, rector of Thorley, Herts, was another thorn in the side of Parliament, both in his theology and his practice. As to the former he attacked the prevalent Calvinism, and "endeavoured to corrupt his parishioners with the leaven of Arminian doctrines, and preached that Christ died for all," and that "the ground of our election was in ourselves and not in God." More than this, it was alleged that "he inveigheth against strictness in religion, affirming all Puritans to be a limb of the devil, abusing our brother Scots by affirming them to be d—— rogues * * and hath preached that he was as much bound in conscience to read such things in Church as the Bishops sent to him to be read, as he was bound to read the Lord's Prayer, and that he received them both with equal authority." But a worse offence than this was that Mr. Porey "expressed malignancy against the Parliament's proceedings," refused to read the Parliamentary ordinances in his Church; and when Parliament got someone else to go into his Church and publicly read its declarations, Mr. Porey "slung out of the Church, calling such as he met to come out with him and not 'stay to hear all kinds of bibble-babble, and things to no purpose at all.'"

The result was that Mr. Porey found his living sequestrated and a successor in John Halsiter put in his place by the following parishioners: — Nicholas Humphrey, Henry Godfrey, Edward Willey, Robt. Osborne, Matthew Barnard, John Brett, Henry Taylor, and Edward Warner. †

John Clark, vicar of North Mimms—the parish from which Mr. Coningsby, the High Sheriff, set out so bravely, only to come into disastrous conflict with Cromwell in St. Albans market—was dispossessed of his living for following the example of the Squire, and was banished to one of the Carribean Islands.

Isaac Craven, vicar of Ware, was, says Walker, a great sufferer and was several times imprisoned, and his family were reduced so low that his widow had to seek charity. He adds that Mr. Craven was a person of "great piety, learning, and loyalty."

Dr. Seaton, rector of Bushey, who figured with Mr. Coningsby in St. Albans market, was called to the bar of the House of Lords for his conduct in deserting his cure and betaking himself to the Cavaliers, to which he replied that his cure was supplied constantly by an able minister, and that "he had resigned his living for the payment of his debts."

Peter Hansted, rector of Hadham, was sequestered and found a congenial sphere as Chaplain to the Royalist troops, but died in the siege of Banbury Castle. His successor, Daniel Dyke, affords a curious illustration of the turning of the times. Mr. Dyke was a Baptist and made Chaplain in ordinary to the Protector, and in 1653 was appointed one of the Triers of Ministers.

John Barwick, who was appointed rector of the parish of Therfield and Dean of St. Paul's for his unwearied services to the Royal cause, was the inventor of the cipher by means of which the correspondence and negotiations over the King's attempt at escape from Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight were carried on, and in which Col. Titus played such a conspicuous part.

As to the rest of the Clergy who were more quietly dispossessed and forgotten in the din of arms until the Restoration brought them back, in many cases, to their parishes, many would, I suppose, have answered to the record left in marble of the Rev. Richard Way, rector of Willian. For a copy of the Latin inscription, and the following translation into English verse, I am indebted to the Hon. and Rev. L. W. Denman, rector of Willian.

Beneath this marble slab in peace reclines,
What little mortal part there still remains,
Of Richard Way, skilled in theology,
Who, when with civil strife the land did blaze,
And laws were silent midst the din of arms,
Remained a secret son of King and Church,
Faithful in their misfortunes unto each;
But justice came at length to this our land,
And all who had been banish'd, now returned;
Amongst the rest the Willian pastor came,
Though patron he, and Vicar of his Church,
Of exile sixteen years he had endured,
But now re-visiting his wandering flock,
Restored to office as to benefice—
His antient rights he did possess again,
But wearied out by cares of this short life
(Albeit he seemed to love it and enjoy),
Lest he again by fortune should be scorned,
Migrated gladly to a better clime!

Died, April 13th, A.D. 1673; aged 62 years.

† *Lords' Journals*, vol. v, p. 690.

Altogether the clergy of about sixty Hertfordshire parishes, or nearly half the parishes in the county, lost their livings through their loyalty to the King, and chiefly during the first year of the War in 1643.

Among the remaining clergy there were, no doubt, some who, like Josias Byrd, the old rector of Baldock, were in sympathy with the King, but had the tact and good sense to keep the discharge of their ministerial duties free from any very pronounced leanings to either side. There must have been many who stood faithfully by their charge, and, resisting all temptations—pressing and strong temptations they must have been—from either side, deserve to be mentioned with all honour as the devoted servants of the King of Kings, whose banner they carried untarnished through all the clamour and strife raging around them to the dividing of family and parish life. That they were left by Parliament and the County Sequestration Committee in the enjoyment of their cures is the best proof of their fidelity. For, so long as an incumbent kept himself clear of the crowning offence of seeking to influence his parishioners against the Parliament, and of extreme points of ceremonial, he was respected and left undisturbed by Parliament in the exercise of his ministry.

It is to the credit of many a sorely tried parish minister that he remained at his post through all the changing scenes. A few instances are worth recording:—

John King, of Abbots Langley, remained incumbent from 1626 to 1662; Nicholas Trench, of Sandon, 1623-68; Esdras Marshall, Rushden, 1629-63; Thomas Juice, King's Langley, 1634-70; Thomas Gardiner, of Cottered, 1627-63; Alexander Strange, the kindly old man, little in stature but great in mind, who presided over Layston parish, for 44 years "instructing the people and in making peace between disputants," left a Chapel of Ease in Buntingford as a monument of his labour; and, last, but not least, Josias Byrd, the old rector of Baldock, who though drinking the King's health in that picturesque fashion in 1647, exercised a quiet, and apparently acceptable ministry over the long period of 53 years—1613-66.

HOW THE PULPITS WERE FILLED.—A THEOLOGICAL BATTLE GROUND AT HEMEL HEMPSTEAD.

Having emptied the pulpits in the Hertfordshire Churches of the more pronounced of the Royalist Clergy, Parliament took measures not only for filling them, but also for maintaining them on Puritan lines, and on the whole its nominees were men of repute, both in theology and morals; though there were some exceptions on the former point which caused much trouble.

Perhaps the most notable disturber of the ecclesiastical orders in Hertfordshire was one Mr. Baldwin. In February, 1644, his case was carried to the House of Lords by Dr. Burges and Dr. Whincop, of the Assembly of Divines, upon a letter or petition written "from divers ministers and other persons of credit in the County of Hertford," which affords us an interesting glimpse of a theological battle ground at Hemel Hempstead, such as few other places even in those times could present. To understand the remarkable commotion in the town which raged round the Parish Church, it is necessary to glance back and see how Baldwin came upon the scene. The Vicar of Hemel Hempstead, the Rev. John Taylor, was, in the Parliamentary language of the day, sequestered by Parliament "for divers foul misdemeanours," and, according to the usual practice, Parliament appointed a minister of their own for the parish. But George Kendall, the minister appointed in his place, was not altogether a Parliamentary Boanerges. He was one who took affairs pretty much into his own hands, and when it was not convenient to occupy the pulpit himself improved upon the Parliament's expedient for deputies by placing deputies of his own in the pulpit. It was under these circumstances that the parish of Hemel Hempstead was taken in hand by the Westminster Assembly of Divines and the House of Lords.

The letter written by "divers ministers and persons of credit" was to the following effect:—

"An information of divers erroneous points delivered in a sermon lately at Hempstead by one Mr. Baldwin; and the sermon being ended, the said Baldwin sat himself down in the pulpit, to see who would answer his opinions; and nobody undertaking to answer him, he stood up and made a challenge to maintain his opinions against any on that day fortnight afterwards; whereupon a tumult was likely to be."

Upon this the Westminster Assembly of Divines, afraid of the effects of an orator who could deliver himself of erroneous points and coolly sit down to see if anybody dare contradict him, suggested for the weighty consideration of the House of Lords the importance of sending down to Hemel Hempstead, on the expiration of

the fortnight, some able minister to preach at Hempstead, who would be a match for the dangerous Baldwin, "whereby the people may be settled in their opinions, and tumults prevented."

Some such antidote was the more necessary as the controversial Baldwin had been delivering himself in similar fashion at Hatfield, and an information "of divers erroneous opinions" delivered there by the said Baldwin, was also submitted to the House of Lords. This information set forth the propositions "delivered by Baldwin in Hatfield Church, on Thursday, 8th day of Feb., 1643 (44)." Many of this long string of propositions were of a doctrinal character too common at the time, and it is only necessary here to give one or two.

This ecclesiastical socialist and anarchist had declared to the Hatfield people the astounding doctrine even for those days "that he prayed neither for the King, Parliament nor Synod, but absolutely prayed against all authority." Other propositions were against infant baptism; that their Churches were as idolatrous as the Temple of Diana; that catechising by the priest was papistical, but that for questioning the minister by the congregation there should be free liberty." The information as to Hatfield concludes:—

"That these things were uttered by him, we whose names are under written do declare and testify.

Rob't Winchester, cler.	Onslow Tudder.
Rich'd Wikinson, cler.	Francis Hare.
Henry Agkerayde,	John Longstart.
Fulke Tydder."	

The House of Lords made the following order for dealing with and counteracting the teaching of Baldwin:—

"Upon information this day received of great disorders committed by one Baldwin (pretending to be a preacher) in the Church of Hempstead in the County of Hertford, tending to sedition: It is ordered * * that the Assembly of Divines be requested to send some able preacher to preach in that Church upon Thursday, the last of this instant February, and truly to inform the people of the integrity and care of both Houses of Parliament for settling of matters of religion according to the word of God * * and that for the future some grave, learned and discreet ministers be requested to perform that lecture till further order can be taken, and that the Churchwardens of Hempstead do take care that none but such as are known to be ministers in orders be permitted to preach at any time there."

Meanwhile, the people of Hemel Hempstead were in a quandary. Those who supported Parliament did not like to see its credit dragged in the mire, and yet were unable to meet the challenge of the turbulent Mr. deputy Baldwin. A number of the clergy in the district took the matter up and attended Hempstead Church to hear Baldwin for themselves. The result was a joint representation to the Assembly of Divines to the effect that:—"Coming on this present Thursday, being the 15th day of February instant, to hear a sermon at Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, in the ordinary course of the lecture there, we heard one Mr. Baldwin, who having formerly preached there (as we are informed) to like purpose, amongst other things which we conceived heterodox"—and then after enumerating the points they proceed—"and in the close of his sermon challenged anyone in the congregation to make use of their privilege, which is (as he said) freely to bring their allegations against anything that he had taught; and if no man objected, he should presume that they were taken for truths; and no man able to reply."

Then commenced a high debate in the Church, for the eight clergy present add, "we were forced to oppose those errors instantly upon the close of the sermon." But whether from the want of a moderator or the division of feeling, the debate was not very orderly, and the visiting clergy add —"But satisfaction not being given, and the people seeming to be much distracted, he, the said Mr. Baldwin, made further challenge to answer him, to any of those points especially that of baptising infants, the fourteenth day after, which will be the last of this present February."

The debate being thus practically adjourned, the next fortnight's lecture was looked forward to with some anxiety by the clergy, and with lively curiosity by the careless. These eight clergy conclude their petition to Dr. Burges and the Westminster Assembly as follows:—

"Sir, we are in some streight; we partly doubt whether it be fit to entertain such a challenge, yea or nay, and desire your advice in it, and (if you think it convenient to be requested) the sense of the Assembly also, and that with all convenient speed."

This document is signed by the following: —

John Jemmatt,	Wm. Bann,
Raph. Rotherham,	Wm. Micklethwayte,
John Turner,	Richard Symonds,
Nathanell Debanck,	Jeremy King.

Evidently the best course was for the great Dr. Burges himself to go down to Hemel Hempstead to the theological trysting place; and so he went, and gives the following report to the House of Lords of his visit:—

"According to their lordships' directions he hath preached at Hampstead * * and he finds the people there much possessed with Anabaptism and Antinomianism and other sects; that unless some speedy course be taken the mischief will hardly be prevented. The minister of the town, Mr. Kendall, refused to come to him whereby he might acquaint him with the order of Parliament. This Mr. Kendall, being set in there by both Houses of Parliament, hath been a chief promoter of all the distractions there; he refuseth to baptise any infants; he hath openly maintained the Church of England to be no Church * * it is generally conceived that so long as he is permitted there it will never be better with the people but rather worse, and that there is labouring in that town against the taking of the Covenant."

"That there are divers ministers of that county who have promised to preach the Thursday lecture at Hempstead * * but by reason of the great distraction in those parts, and the boldness of Anabaptists and other sectarists thereabouts, the ministers dare not enter upon this service unless they be ordered by their several names to perform it."

The names of these ministers were:—Mr. Gladman, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. King, Mr. Jemmatt, Mr. Puttee [Tutty ?], Mr. Leviston, Mr. Barton. Mr. Woolfall, Mr. Simnes, Mr. Juice, Mr. Rotherham, Mr. Newton, Mr. Carre, Mr, Buckley, and Mr. Debanke. A certificate was also read from inhabitants of Hempstead, stating that Mr. Kendall had refused to baptise their infants when they had earnestly desired it. This was signed by—Tho. Walker, the elder, Wm. Arnot, Tho. Walker, Wm. Gregory, and Nathaniell Miles."

In this state of affairs, Parliament summoned Mr. Kendall, their own nominee, to appear before them to answer the said offences, and meanwhile appointed the fifteen ministers named above to lecture at Hempstead in their turns.

So much for Mr. Kendall, the Parliament's deputy; now for Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Kendall's deputy. He is now already at the Bar of the House of Lords on the same day as the Kendall complaints were made, to answer for stirring up the people with his seditious opinions. It then appeared that the pugnacious Mr. Baldwin had sought a theological encounter with Mr. Tutty, a local minister, and a letter on the subject of this challenge was read, in which Baldwin taunts his would-be antagonist with wishing the points of debate to be settled beforehand so that he might "study upon them," upon which Baldwin insinuates that a man who poses as a teacher should be ready, and apt to maintain his own doctrine and practice, and to answer the gainsayer without study, "but," he sarcastically adds, "I take you not for a gospel teacher, and therefore allow you (as you have need) study to fit yourself, being not otherwise fitted. Raise then two propositions out of my doctrine and practice; study thence to confute me."

After settling the doctrinal points for debate, this champion of extempore speaking concludes —"The place for the dispute requisite to be in Mimms Steeple House [shade of Thomas Coningsby, now lying in the Tower!] in so much as our difference arose from what were there delivered. The time to be the sixth day of the first month, being the fourth day of the week, Anno. 1643. Per me, Rob't Baldwin." On this letter was endorsed:—

"This paper was delivered to me by Mr. Baldwin with his own hand at Ridge, in Hertfordshire, on Tuesday last, 27th February, 1643. Per me, Wm. Tutty."

After the production of the letter Baldwin acknowledged at the Bar of the House that he had written it, and "hereupon," says the record in the Parliamentary Journal of the time, "this House taking this business into consideration, for the present ordered that the said Robt. Baldwin, for endeavouring to stir up sedition, shall stand committed to the Prison of the Gatehouse in Westminster, and there to remain until the pleasure of this House be further known, and that the keeper of the Prison shall take special care that no company resort unto him, nor that he be permitted to preach, whereby to disperse his sedition, and this command to obey as he will answer the contrary at his peril."

The next to appear before the bar of the House was Mr. Kendall, the man whom Parliament had put in place of the Vicar. The charges against him were taken one by one, and he was allowed to make answer to their Lordships upon them. The first charge was that he had refused to baptise infants born in the parish of Hempstead for sundry months last past, though he had been earnestly requested and did at his first coming baptise infants. Kendall made answer that things being not determined by the Parliament concerning ceremonies, he was not resolved about some ceremonies and forebore to use them.

It was next proved by Thomas Walker, the elder, and Wm. Gregory—

"That he hath refused to administer the Lord's Supper to the parishioners, by all the time of his being there, and bitterly inveighed against such as had received the Sacrament from the hands of another, the first day that he preached there, saying they had no more right to it than dogs, or to that effect, to the great grief and scandal of the people."

Kendall's excuse was that he conceived that those who were there were not Christians and had no right to it, and also because there were great divisions in the parish. He confessed that he had not taken the communion himself since he came there.

The same two witnesses proved that Mr. Kendall had been a great means of division and distractions amongst the people who lived together in good accord before his coming among them. They also stated that he admitted divers men (as Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Erbury) to preach against baptising of infants, against Parliament and the Assembly. It was alleged that he had refused to take or administer the Covenant. Kendall denied this, but when asked by the House if he would take the Covenant he adroitly answered when it was offered him he would do as God directed him.

Their Lordships ordered "that for the present the said Kendall shall stand committed to the prison of Newgate, during the pleasure of this House, for endeavouring to sow sedition amongst the people, and that his keeper shall not permit any person to come, but to keep him in safe custody. And because the said Kendall was put into the cure of Hempstead by ordinance of both Houses of Parliament by way of sequestration, it was ordered that he be put out of the cure and that for the future none might be put into any cures by sequestration but such as were approved by the Westminster Assembly of Divines as being fit and able."

The Gatehouse Prison confinement proved too much for Mr. Baldwin, who in a short time petitioned Parliament for greater liberty, and the House ordered "that he have the liberty of the prison, provided he be not permitted to disperse or preach any of his opinions." After nearly six months Mr. Baldwin was released from his confinement on the, for him, very hard condition that he do not commit the same offence again, "if he does he must expect to be more severely punished." Mr. Kendal after only a month's confinement, had made terms with Parliament, and got released from Newgate, "giving sufficient security in a bond of five hundred pounds not to publish any of his opinions, either in the prison or elsewhere contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England."

For whatever was likely to influence the people against itself, whether from a Royalist justice or from a parish clergyman, Parliament had its antidotes, and, whether by force of arms or by the power of eloquence, generally so directed them as to bring them to bear in the most public manner, and on occasions when the people were assembled together. For this purpose the weekly lecture, I suspect, became both used and abused. It was open to the parishioners of any parish to petition Parliament for a weekly lecture by an outsider, and Parliament if it saw fit would in these times appoint one, or several in turn, of its most eloquent preachers and controversialists to the town or parish to occupy the vicar's pulpit on market day, and the weekly lecture thus became a powerful agency.

As an instance it may be mentioned that just at the critical point in the month of July (19th), 1642, a month before the actual commencement of the War, the Hitchin market people were provided with a weekly discourse by champions of the Parliamentary cause, the order for which runs as follows:—

"Upon reading of the humble petition of divers freeholders and chief inhabitants of the parish of Hitchin, in the County of Herts, it is ordered that: Dr. Lindall (Hitchin), Dr. Chester (Stevenage), Mr. Herbert Palmer (Ashwell), Mr. Rotheram (Ickleford), Mr. Denne (Pirton), Mr. Symes (Bumpstead, Essex), Mr. Aspin (Offley), Mr. King (Flampstead), Mr. Eeles (Harpenden), Mr. Sedgwicke (Ely), Mr. Cummin (Albury), Mr. Tomlins (Northaw), Mr. Trayherne (Stapleford), Mr. Young (Kimpton), and Mr. Bedford (Willian), orthodox divines shall be recommended by this

House to be lecturers to preach in the parish Church of Hitchin by their turns every Tuesday being market day * * and the parson or vicar of the said parish is hereby required to permit the said ministers to preach in the said parish Church every Tuesday without molestation or interruption."

Among these men were some of the most powerful preachers of the time, and they were, no doubt, selected for this reason.

When the inhabitants of any parish were allowed by Parliament to set up a weekly lecture† in the Parish Church on a week-day, usually on a market day, it not unfrequently happened that the Vicar of the parish objected to the proceeding and petitions went up to Parliament to uphold their orders. A notable instance of this occurred at Broxbourne, where the Vicar, Mr. Parlett, locked up the church and kept the keys, refusing to allow the parish-appointed Mr. Evans to preach without direct order from Parliament, when the House ordered him to allow Mr. Evans, the appointed lecturer, to preach.

Perhaps no part in the Puritan Revolution has been more frequently denounced than the iconoclasm of the Long Parliament which ordered all "altars and tables of stone" to be removed out of Churches; "superstitious pictures," images and inscriptions to be removed and "utterly demolished." The wording of the orders of Parliament (printed *in extenso* in the House of Lords' Journals) show that Parliament may not have been quite so black as it has sometimes been painted. Still, its ordinances were wide enough, when in unscrupulous hands, to cover a wanton iconoclasm which had little respect for art, if it only served to clothe a suspiciously worded sentiment; and thus, not only images and pictures, but expressions offensive to Puritan ideas and dogmas, were demolished by "the man that came to take off the Popish sentiments from the graves and windows," as the St. Albans (St. Peter's Parish) Churchwardens' Accounts still testify. We know that Dr. Montford, of Anstey, had his great picture of the Virgin Mary taken down, and that in a moment of wrath he arrested the churchwardens and the glazier for their pains; and also that Lord Salisbury was fearful of his stained glass windows in the chapel at Hatfield House. But sometimes this outburst of Puritan fanaticism of the Long Parliament gets credited with the destruction of monuments and inscriptions which in reality was the work of other hands following the Reformation. The wholesale removal of tombstones in more recent times and their desecration by being used for paving neighbouring public-houses and bakers' ovens [see the parish of Aldenham in *Cussans' History of Hertfordshire*] should remind us that the Puritan, regarding his work as part of that Herculean task upon the Augean stable to which he had set his hand† had at least a motive, whatever we may think of it, which is more than could be claimed for the degrading apathy which two hundred years later first neglected and then applied memorials of the dead to such revolting uses.

† The weekly lecture as a Puritan institution had been generally suppressed by Archbishop Laud, but was revived by the Long Parliament. It was a voluntary institution intended in the first instance to supplement the ministrations of the Vicar of the parish, and not necessarily in opposition to him, though in the great struggle it probably was, and Parliament made order that the Vicar was to suffer and not to hinder the weekly lecturer from occupying his pulpit. It was worked pretty much on the lines of a modern Methodist local preachers' "plan," with the exception that the lecturers were ministers from the surrounding parishes approved by Parliament. The "plan" in this case—or the programme showing the order in which the lecturers were to preach and take their turn—was called a "catalogue for the lectures," and in old accounts for market towns of the period, items for making them out occur. In the Mayor's accounts for the Borough of St. Albans there are such entries.

† It must not be supposed that the churches and their services were neglected because the Puritans demolished "superstitious images." At Bassingbourn, near Royston, a new set of bells was provided, all bearing the date of 1651.

JOHN BUNYAN AND THE "MECHANICAL MEN."—SOME FAMOUS HERTFORDSHIRE PREACHERS.

We who think of the name of John Bunyan in connection with one of the crowning glories of our literature, can hardly realize the contempt with which Parliament regarded the unlicensed amateur preachers and "mechanical men" who took upon themselves to instruct the people in those weighty matters which Parliament had made so much its own. In truth, the unsettling process had spread much further than Parliament had intended, and there was a sort of free-trade in preaching which brought all sorts and conditions of men into the field of theological warfare, which raged with as much bitterness of tongue as the civil conflict had done with keenness

of the sword. Sixty-three of the clergy of Hertfordshire entered their protest against this unlicensed preaching, and in their petition they stated that they "cannot but be sensible * * of the pernicious growth and spreading of pernicious errors, heresies, and schisms; the daring impudency of mechanics rending our congregations by private meetings in time of public worship." †

The divisions became so great and so multiplied that the number of Sects, or Sectaries as they were called, might now seem almost incredible. For their character and number the student of the curious in religious history has again to go to the pages of a Hertfordshire writer, Thomas Edwards, who had been curate of All Saints, Hertford, and whose writings, though tainted with the controversial partisanship of the period, throw an interesting light upon the religious life of the county. In the pages of the famous *Gangræna; a Catalogue and discovery of many errours of the Sectaries*, Edwards classified the Sectaries under the following sixteen heads :—Independents, Brownists, Chiliasts or Millenaries, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Manifestarians or Arminians, Libertines, Formalists, Enthusiasts, Seekers and Waiters, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Antitrinitarians, Antiscripturists, Scepticks, and Questionists. He then goes into a detailed catalogue of their "errours" or doctrines to the number of 176—the strangest medley of beliefs that could ever enter into the heart of man, set forth in an over-zealous and coarse fashion which weakens the author's claim to impartial writing and makes it a not very congenial field of study.

The references to Hertfordshire and its Sectaries and their "errours," are sufficiently numerous in the *Gangræna* to make it necessary to glance briefly at Edwards's work, which has frequently a local colouring. Edwards is chiefly interesting when speaking of local persons and practices. Of the Sectaries he says, "All kinds of Sectaries and mechanic preachers from London from the Army, preach and corrupt the people, and of those practices there are manie sad examples in Hartfordshire and Essex, and that in some great market townes as Chesham where thousands of souls are." In addition to the mechanic preachers—smiths, tailors, shoemakers, weavers, pedlars, &c., he says that in Hertfordshire there were also some women preachers, who "took upon them at meetings to expound the Scriptures in houses."

John Bunyan—afterwards arraigned before Francis Wingate, the Bedfordshire justice at Harlington House, a relative of Captain Wingate already noticed, from which modest local scene was to arise a religious force of immortal vigour —was not the only "mechanic" whose preaching roused the Hertfordshire people. Bunyan preached in some of the Hertfordshire villages, and there was an active band of other preachers, each one a very Boanerges in his work, though only a despised mechanic. Of such men were those spoken of by Edwards :—

"There are four famous preachers in Hartfordshire (as I have it from sure hands), one Heath, the collar-maker of Watton; one Rice, the tinker of Aston; one Field, the bodies-maker, of Hartford; one Crew, the tailor of Stevenage. * * * Besides these there are some other preachers who sometime were ministers in the Church of England, but now great Sectaries, as Master Feake, at All Saints Church, in Hartford; one Master Harrison, about St. Albans side [or Kensworth, and "a great demagogue,"] and some others of whose strange preachings, practices, of the complaint to the judges at the Assize of Master Feake, I shall hereafter give the reader an account."

He also mentions one Carter, having but one eye, a Sectary at Watton and a great preacher, "who keeps conventicles on the Lord's Day, there being a great resort to him, never coming to the public assemblies." Evidently, this Carter with the one eye was a sort of Hertfordshire Christmas Evans, painting in vivid colours the final outcome of his dogmatic theology, but without the free play of imagination which, realizing the glory as well as the terror of the day of doom, caught the "hwyl" among the Welsh mountains in a later day.

The proceedings of Master Christopher Feake, the Parliament minister at All Saints' Church, Hertford, to whom Edwards referred as a great Sectary, caused something of a scene at the Hertford Assizes. The County Committee dissatisfied with Mr. Feake's "preaching many strange things," brought some articles against him before the Judges on the Bench, and apparently by Mr. Packer.

Master Feake attempted to explain away the points in his preaching which were objected to

† The names of these clergy are given in *Nonconformity in Herts*, by the Rev. W. Urwick, M.A.; a work of much wider historical research in general county history than the title might seem to suggest.

before the Judges, and while he was doing this he had some friends in the Court. "As he was speaking some turbulent fellows and sectaries clambered up by the Bench and cried out 'My lord! my lord! Mr. Pr. [Mr. Packer?] doth it in malice; we will maintain our minister with our blood,' whereupon the Judge threw away the paper and said he would hear no more of it, though he had before commanded Master Eldred to read openly all those heterodoxies."

According to the same authority Master Feake had his turn on the next Lord's day following, when, "in a great auditory," he endeavoured in the pulpit to answer all the articles put up against him to the Judges. A man who dared to call Cromwell "the man of sin, the old dragon," was evidently a man who did not pay much regard to Parliaments, and it is not surprising that he eventually got inside a prison, but even there he found an opportunity of addressing his followers in a letter to "his little flock," dated from "my watch tower in this house of bondage which is called Windsor Castle," where he was then imprisoned.

One of the bitterest of the theological pills for Parliament was the Anabaptist. Even Cromwell made it a point of credit with his soldiers that they were "no Anabaptists but honest sober Christians," and yet Anabaptism as a name only meant *re*-baptism; or the baptising again of those who had received infant baptism, though it involved the substitution of adult immersion for infant baptism; and, for anything I know, that struggle over Anabaptism at Hemel Hempstead Church may have been one of the beginnings of the Baptist congregations of Hertfordshire to-day. †

Having had some experience of the waywardness of some of its nominees, who replaced the sequestered clergy, Parliament finding a continuance of "divers scandalous and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters in many churches, chappels, and publique schools within this nation," decided upon a remedy which went a little further than selecting the theology of the parson, and provided an effective local machinery for selecting the parson himself. This was a county examining board, or public "triers" of the fitness of any "publique preacher, lecturer, or other persons formerly called parsons," with power to call such before them, and any such minister or schoolmaster "shall be accounted ignorant and insufficient as shall be so declared and adjudged by the Commissioners." The principal Commissioners or "Triers" were laymen, but with clerical assistants.

The following were the Commissioners for the county of Hertford:—Henry Lawrence (president of the Council), Sir John Wittewrong, Lord Fiennes, John Marsh, Francis White, Isaac Puller, William Turner (of Hertford), Alban Cox, Master Combes the younger (of Hempstead), Colonel Washington, Thomas Nicholl, William Leman, Ralph Gladman, William Packer, and William Hickman. The ministers appointed to assist them were the following:—Mr. Philip Goodwyn (vicar of Watford), Mr. John Warren (rector of Hemel Hempstead), Dr. John Lightfoot (Munden Magna), Mr. Samuel Tomlin (of Northawe), Mr. Thomas Mockett (of Gilston), Mr. Thomas Halseter, Mr. John Young (of Ware), Mr. Isaac Bedford (of Willian), Mr. Nathaniel Eeles (of Harpenden), Mr. Tutty (of Totteridge), Mr. (or Dr.) Slater (of Barnet), Mr. John Pointer, Mr. Daniel Dike (of Hadham Magna), and Mr. Lee (of Hatfield).

The Westminster Assembly of Divines, a kind of theological department of the State charged with the duty of drawing up and maintaining a Confession of Faith, a Catechism and a Directory for public worship, had upon it a strong representation of Hertfordshire men. Of these the first and foremost was Cornelius Burges, D.D., vicar of Watford, and afterwards lecturer in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Dr. Burges, vicar of Watford from 1618, had been made a chaplain in ordinary to Charles I. in 1627. That he spoke his mind freely and had a great influence with others is shown by the emphatic way in which the Watford people set an example to the county in volunteering for the Parliament at the beginning of the War. Dr. Burges was made chaplain to the regiments of the Earl of Essex, and in 1643 was appointed one of the assessors to the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and afterwards Sunday evening

† So bitter was the conflict with the Anabaptists or Baptists under the Long Parliament that Henry Denne, who had been vicar of Pirton, and was one of Parliament's weekly lecturers at Hitchin on Market-day, was sent to prison by the Cambridge County Committee for preaching against infant baptism. At a later date before the Restoration, as well as after, the Quakers in the north of the county at Royston, Baldock, and also at Hertford were imprisoned. If it should be thought strange that two denominations which in our time command general respect should be persecuted under Cromwell, it must be borne in mind that the manner of propagating their tenets at that time was often enough to provoke the civil power whether of King or Parliament.

lecturer at St. Paul's Cathedral with a stipend of £400 a year and the deanery to live in; Philip Goodwin, of St. Andrew's, Hertford, taking his place at Watford.

Dr. Burges frequently preached before Parliament, and figured prominently in City banquets in honour of Parliamentary victories. It is said of him that "being looked upon as a doughty champion for the holy cause and a zealous Covenanter, 'twas usual with him and with Venn to lead up the tumults of the city to the Parliament doors to see that the godly party in the House might not be out-voted, and then turning back and beholding the rabble would say 'these are my band-dogs I can set them on and I can take them off again.'" [Wood's *Athenæ*.]

It is doubtful, however, whether he deserved all the obloquy that was bestowed upon him by some of the more scurrilous pens of the time. At any rate, he stood out against the idea of the execution of the King, and in the same year he gave up his appointments; but, buying up alienated Church land, brought upon himself unsparing criticism, to which he replied in the literary fashion of the period in a pamphlet entitled "No sacrilege or sin to alienate or purchase the lands of Bishops whose office is abolished."

He received a half (£200) of his stipend from St. Paul's down to 1655, when "on account of the merritt and ability of ye said Dr. Burges, being in ye beginning of ye troubles very serviceable to ye Parliament and the cause by them mayntayned against the common enemy" the pension was increased to £280.

At the Restoration he lost everything, and the lands he had acquired were restored to their former owners; and the former Parliamentary champion came back to his old parish of Watford and there lived five years in poverty and want; and, eaten up with "cancer in his neck and cheek," he died in 1665, and was buried in the nave of Watford Church.

It is said that he was reduced to such penury that "he was obliged to sell his library to purchase the necessaries of life with," but, however that may be, he drew the line at his famous collection of editions of the Book of Common Prayer, some of which he bequeathed to the University of Oxford; one of his last acts being to write in one of the volumes these pathetic lines:—"I, Cornelius Burges, being by my dear and honoured mother the University of Oxford made Doctor of Divinity in 1627, and much grieved that I am able to do nothing worthy of her, yet I humbly offer all that I have * * * all these I most humbly and thankfully give to my said honourable mother of Oxford, I being ready to die, beseeching her to account of these four small mites as our Lord and blessed Saviour did of the poor widow's two mites, that by casting in that, cast in all she had. Cornelius Burges."

Thus ended a notable career which had been closely associated for so many years with the town of Watford. had roused its volunteer spirit to resist the influence of Lord Capel and the first acts of the Royalists in the county, had figured largely in the learned discussion of theological problems which occupied the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and, as an author, in the never-ending controversies of the age—the career of one who was perhaps the most abused member of the Westminster Assembly, but whose faults, judged by the standard of the times, cannot quite set aside the charitable exercise of that common humanity to which, as in many other individuals of that unhappy time, such a sudden reversal and pathetic end must appeal.

Next in order may be placed Herbert Palmer, B.D., rector of Ashwell, son of Sir Thomas Palmer, and Master of Queen's College, Cambridge; the great little man, and French scholar, whose appearance in the pulpit elicited the remark "what should this child say to us?" and afforded such answer by his powerful and exemplary preaching that it is said the ill-fated Archbishop Laud, who had presented him to Ashwell, pleaded this act as one of his good deeds. † He also became one of the Assessors to the Assembly, and both for his "trumpet-tongued addresses" and work as "the best catechist in England," he was a man of some considerable fame. He was actually a teetotaller two centuries before the name was known, and was, it appears, the author of the *Christian Paradoxes*, which have been attributed to the great Lord Bacon, besides many other works.

Other Hertfordshire members of the Assembly were Humphrey Hardwick, M.A., of Hadham Magna, to whom that living had been sequestrated from Dr. Paske; John Lightfoot, D.D., to whom the living of Munden Magna was sequestrated; Peter Smith, D.D. (Barkway), Thomas Westfield D.D. (St. Albans), Richard Vines, M.A.

† According to Holles' *Memoirs*, Mr. Herbert Palmer was one of those "well-meaning men of the Assembly," who, when the panic arose over the Army's threatened march on London in 1647, was "persuading to peace."

(Watton), Edmund Staunton, S.T.P. (Bushey), and John Whincop, D.D., of Clothall, whose identity is rather puzzling from the fact of there having been three brothers all D.D.'s, and Fellows of the same College, and the sons of a Dr. Whincop.

To these nine clerical members, Hertfordshire added four lay members of the Assembly, viz., William Earl of Salisbury, Sir Thomas Barrington (Flampstead), John Maynard, of St. Albans, and John White, of Bushey, better known to the student of Puritan literature as "Century White" — the author of the "Century of Malignant Priests," already referred to—and member of Parliament for Southwark.

With all the hard things that have been said of White's utterances against some of the "Malignant Priests," he gained so much respect that when he died in 1645, the members of the House of Commons attended his funeral, and upon his tombstone in the Temple an inscription states :—

Here lies a John, a burning shining light,
Whose name, life, actions, all alike were White. †

Some of the clergy, and not the least eminent, like some of the laymen, distinguished themselves by an opportunism which enabled them to run with the dominant party, with little regard to consistency. Among these was the learned Dr. Lightfoot, of Great Munden, who spoke of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, in fulsome style as one "whom the Lord hath placed over us, and raised up a healer and deliverer in the needful time," and, in the course of seven years, wrote this to Charles II. "O how would I commemorate thee thou best of princes, greatest Charles. What praises or what expressions shall I use to celebrate or set forth so great clemency, commiseration and goodness . . . . . let England glory in such a Prince . . . . Triumph Cæsar, triumph in that brave spirit of yours, as you well may. You are Charles, and you conquer!"

But a more notable instance was afforded by the Rector of Hatfield, Mr. Richard Lee, who took such a prominent part with Hugh Peters in the fasting services before General Monk and his Army in St. Albans Abbey, when Monk was marching to London on the eve of the Restoration. Unlike Hugh Peters, Mr. Lee carefully attended to the swing of the pendulum, and got down on the right side of the fence when the change came; for which and his numerous acts of time-serving, the following lines were put into his mouth :—

Three times already I have turned my coat,
Three times already I have changed my note.
* * * * *
From Hatfield to St. Albans I did ride,
The Army called for me to be their guide,
There I so spur'd her that I made her fling
Not only dirt, but blood upon my King.
* * * * *
My Leicester sins, my Hatfield sins are many,
But my St. Albans sins more red than any.

In 1663, Mr. Lee, then a D.D., preached a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral entitled "A broken and a contrite heart," in which he delivered himself against the Solemn League and Covenant, the death of the late King, &c. He remained rector of Hatfield for 24 years after the Restoration, until his death in 1684.

In taking leave of the religious aspect of the struggle it is fair to observe that though the upsetting of ecclesiastical authority in religion opened a way to the multiplicity of sects, many of which were unquestionably of a fanatical type, yet the Puritan Clergy of Hertfordshire were for the most part men of sterling worth, both those who remained faithful at their post, true to the higher dictates of their calling, through all the trouble and the strife, and also, those installed by Parliament—men of sterling Christian piety and zeal, which should redeem them from that caricature of history which has been not unfrequently fixed upon the old Puritan stock.

OMENS, SIGNS AND WONDERS.—WHAT THE WAR MEANT FOR HERTFORDSHIRE.

It may help us to understand what was the effect of the Civil War upon the public, social, and domestic life of the people of Hertfordshire if we bear in mind the manner in which the conflict presented itself to them—how it appealed to their imagination, their sympathy, and their interests, as well as what it eventually required of them in the way of sacrifice and service. In an age when omens, witchcraft, and the powers of the unseen world were ever present to men's minds, it is not at all surprising that every unusual appearance in the heavens above, or phenomenon in the natural world around them, would easily be read by the people at such a time as an omen of coming

† To White belongs the honour also of being the grandfather of Susannah Wesley, mother of John and Charles Wesley.

woe. There are many records of such supernatural manifestations during the opening years of the Civil War, and among the most remarkable are those reported from the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Hertford. In nearly all of these omens the description attributes to them a warlike significance. How far the excited imagination of the people may have affected the record is, of course, a question; but at least one such record comes from an observer of historical repute, and it runs thus:—

"1643 March 10: I must not forget what amazed us in the night before, viz., a shining cloud in the air, in shape resembling a sword the point reaching to the north; it was bright as the moon, the rest of the sky being very serene. It began about 11 at night, and vanished not till about one, being seen by all the South of England." [*Evelyn.*]

This characteristic entry in Evelyn's *Diary* is of additional interest from the fact that when he wrote it he had just arrived at "Hartingford berry to visit my cousin Keightly," and consequently what was seen by the famous diarist must have been seen by all Hertfordshire people. It is also interesting from the fact that "Cousin Keightly" was, like some other peaceably disposed folk in the county of Hertford, just then packing up to go abroad out of reach of the strife. After that farewell meeting of Mr. Keightly and Mr. Evelyn, the diarist, at Hertingfordbury, beneath the vision of the flaming sword in the heavens above, there occurs this other interesting footprint of Cousin Keightly:—

"16 March, 1642 (3), William Keightly to have a warrant to pass into France."

As to other visions in the air, on the 21st of May, 1643, it is on record that about Newmarket "there were seen by divers honest, sober, and civil persons and men of good credit, three men in the ayre striving, struggling, and tugging together, one of them having a drawn sword in his hand. * * * Betwixt Newmarket and Thetford a pillar of cloud ascended from the earth with a bright hilt of a sword towards the bottom of it, and there descended also out of the sky the form of a pike or lance with a very sharp point to encounter with." These forms ascended and descended towards each other "about an hour and a half." At Comberton, near Cambridge, where the Train-Bands had mustered "the form of a spire or steeple with swords set round about it" appeared in the sky. At Brandon were seen resemblances of a "fleet or navy of ships in the ayre swiftly passing under sail with flags and streamers * * as if they were ready to give encounter." It is further added that "in all these places, there was very great thunder with rain and hailstones of extraordinary biggnesse." †

When the sword of Damocles, hanging over the land, was reflected in the heavens above, it is not hard to realise that such omens should burn themselves into the very heart and imagination of the people, or that the spirit of prophecy should manifest itself on every hand. ‡ Hard-handed men who wrought in leather or at the forge, or who made candles in Hertford, or malt in the villages; Puritan dames who made possets, simples, and metheglin for the household, spoke of fastings and humiliations, of the coming of the King of Kings to purge his threshing floor, of the battle of Armageddon, the overthrow of Anti-Christ, of the end of all things and of the wrath to come! The dreadful weight of all these forebodings of the evil times coming upon the hearts of little children has been too insignificant a matter to have got into history—which is so strangely silent about the children of all ages—yet how terrible must have been this lurid picture to their excited imaginations, and in the visions of their dreams, till they became accustomed to the sight of armed men passing to and fro in the land! Upon all who, either from temperament or circumstances, could take no part in the struggle, a feeling of despair settled down like a dark cloud over their lives, and in all the correspondence of the period there is scarcely a letter which does not contain the oft-recurring phrase of "our unhappy country," and expressions of a yearning for "a well-grounded and lasting peace."

During the winter of 1643-4, when this utter weariness of war had for some time weighed

† *Signes from Heaven, or several apparitions seen and heard in the Ayre in the counties of Cambridge and Norfolk, 21st May, 1643.—King's Pamphlets*, Brit. Mus.

‡ The astrologers drew terrible pictures of things to come, and one "Doomsday Sedgewick," as he was afterwards called, made his way to the house of Francis Russell in Cambridgeshire, and finding several gentlemen there playing at bowls, called upon them to prepare for their dissolution, telling them that he had lately received a revelation that Doomsday would be some day the week following." Witchcraft was exceedingly prevalent, and amid the din of arms in 1644, in Essex 29 witches were hung; 20 the next year in Norfolk, and in 1649 John Palmer and Elizabeth Knott, "two notorious witches," were hung at St. Albans; while in 1645 a woman at Cambridge was hung for keeping a tame frog which was "sworn to be her imp."

heavily upon their minds, the people of Hertfordshire passed through a time of trial which aggravated the burden upon the social side of life. For when hostilities had ceased for the winter there was no respite from burdens. The great army of the Earl of Essex settled down in Hertfordshire for their winter quarters, and the non-combatants of the county found the truce even worse than war. They had still the sight and the burden of soldiers everywhere—in their towns, their villages, and in their houses, with occasional mutinies when pay was not forthcoming, and at last the dread resort of "free-quarter." From the month of December, when the Earl of Essex, after a mutiny in St. Albans market, made that pathetic appeal to Parliament that if pay were not forthcoming he would not be able to stay among them "to hear the crying necessity of the hungry soldiers"—for about four months, Parliament being unable to respond to the appeal, the vast army of 15,000 was distributed over the several hundreds in the county, taking free quarter from the county people at a cost of about £25,000 in money, and little prospect of re-payment, to say nothing of other discomforts.

The foregoing was one of the "chances of war" which the county of Hertford had to bear as a result of its situation; but this was not the only element which seriously affected the county. Reference has been made in an earlier chapter (p. 56) to the peculiar pressure which fell upon the county by reason of its situation as a kind of buffer between the Metropolis and the Royalist Army, and of how Parliament took advantage of this to the great loss of the county; but there was another side of this geographical pressure which increased the burdens of the county. Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire were frontier counties which shut in the famous Parliamentary recruiting ground of East Anglia, or the Eastern Association, which formed so important an element in the Civil War. As every move of the Royalist Army from Oxford across Buckinghamshire was directed either towards the Associated Counties or London, the county of Hertford was always the first that was threatened. There was a general understanding in the Councils of the Association that when these two frontier counties of Herts and Cambs, and through them the Association, were threatened, it was to be treated as a matter of urgency, and that every available man was to be put into the field without reference to the respective liability of each county in the Association; and that the apportionment of the cost of such defensive measures was to be settled afterwards. In the special efforts thus suddenly called for Hertfordshire strained every nerve, armed every available man and advanced its money freely, and was well supported with men, but not so well with money, by the sister county of Cambridge, only to find that the other counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, when the threatened danger had been met by Herts and Cambs, and had passed away, sometimes forgot all about the apportionment of the charges incurred.

These, however, were in a sense local charges which the Hertfordshire folk had no option but to meet from motives of self-protection; and besides the levies of men and the assessments in money for service in the general operations of the War, there was a sort of geographical area of liability settled by Parliament itself for the maintenance of garrisons which were of importance as outpost defences for the Associated Counties. Thus the Hertfordshire people were held to have an interest in, and were called upon for substantial contributions to maintain, the garrisons of Aylesbury, Newport Pagnell, and even for the holding of King's Lynn. Aylesbury garrison at one time in the War cost Hertfordshire £200 a week; and when the people of King's Lynn in September, 1643, declared themselves against the Parliament a special levy from that quarter was made upon Hertfordshire for £450 a week. But Newport Pagnell was the great strategic outpost of the Associated Counties, and here again the situation of Hertfordshire gave some colour to the plea, which was frequently urged by Parliament and tacitly acknowledged by the Associated Counties, that the Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire people had a special duty in regard to it, and by these two counties the place was chiefly garrisoned at an enormous cost. The non-combatants of Hertfordshire endured a strain upon their resources of men and money which even the comparative wealth of the county, the stability of its ordinary industrial life, and the revenue from Royalists' estates, were hardly sufficient to save them from ruin.

That I have not overstated the case will be seen from the following official documents and despatches, which, relating especially to what the county had to bear on the financial side, may very well be inserted here.

"*Dr. John King to William Lenthall.*

1643, *September* 19, *Hertford.*—The Committee of Parliament for the county, having received a

warrant from his Excellency for the speedy raising of 100 horse for a troop of arquebusiers have commanded me to ask the deferring the execution of this warrant for some time, inasmuch they are now raising 300 light horse to be under the Earl of Manchester's command, and the County has recruited Colonel Middleton's regiment twice, and other companies under his Excellency, and has lately furnished Sir W. Waller with many horse, and the Earl Denby's (Denbigh) officers swept away many men's horses when they went through the county, and the county hath furnished at least 1,000 or 1,200 horse, for the most part at their own charge, and now they are speedily to raise 120 horse for Dragoons to be sent to the Earl of Manchester."

"*Sir John Wittewrong, Sir John Garrard, and others to William Lenthall.*

1644, *November* 30, *St. Albans.*—The letter of the House dated October 28th, represents there hath been a great negligence on our part for the supply of Newport garrison. We are very sorry we should be so misunderstood in declaring the pressures of our county as that in desiring relief, we should be rendered neglectful of our duty. Since receipt of your letter we have sent to Newport £500, which we borrowed, and appointed two of our Committee to go with it, and take an account out of the Treasurer's books, there, what we have paid and what other the Associated Counties have paid. We find we have paid for that garrison more than all the Association as appears by the enclosed account. Our humble suit to the House is that our county may be relieved of its insupportable burdens, which are as follows :—

"First, the county hath been set at above half in many ordinances with Essex when they ought not to have been above one third, and yet they have conformed in all obedience to pay their rates.

"Secondly, the great weekly disproportion of the ordinance for the Earl of Manchester for the maintaining of the associated forces, which amounteth in this county to £112 10*s.* weekly above their just proportion with Essex, which hath been continued now near 12 months, which in the whole year amounteth to £5,400.

"Thirdly, the great and insupportable burthen of the free quarter during His Excellency's army the last winter on them, amounting in only two hundreds to £10,760. The other three not being yet cast up, besides the great damage that befell them during that quarter.

"Fourthly, the heavy burthen to the county in the passing and re-passing of the Parliament's forces, for the most part on free quarter. Besides all this the county hath sent out upon the commands of the Committee of Both Kingdoms their own domesticall forces, which have cost them over £9,000, besides the great hindrance that hath accrued to them by the miss of their men. Many more are the pressures, which we forbear to mention. We therefore humbly pray that the county may be relieved in their former disproportions, and freed from that disproportion that is and hath continued on them in the Earl of Manchester's ordinance, and specially that that great and grievous charge of the quartering of the army may be speedily repaid, and other the Associated Counties may be brought up to equalise them in Newport garrison. The county is no way able to bear such charge as they now are under, it having cost them £3,800 a month the last year, besides the free quarter, the excise, the fifth and twentieth part.

"*Postscript.*—We desire that the Committee or any two of them may be given power to make distress on all persons who disobey their warrants in paying the levies laid on them for the use of the armies as they pass and repass, for the charge of our imprest soldiers, and for such like services, as are of necessity to be done upon any emergency. *Signed.*

Annexed is the following account:—

		£	s.	d.
"Nov. 2d., 1643.	Received out of Hertfordshire	200	00	00
20.	Received out of Hertfordshire	200	00	00
Jan. 27.	Received out of Hertfordshire	300	00	00
March 26., 1644.	Received from Cambridge ...	300	00	00
Aug. 2d.	Received of Norfolk.....	250	00	00
	Received of Suffolk	250	00	00
	Essex	250	00	00
	Received of Huntingdon	090	00	00
	Received of Cambridge.....	112	00	00
Nov. 8.	Received of Hertfordshire ...	500	00	00

This account we received from the Treasurer of Newport, written with his own hand. *Teste*, William Love, William Dany.

	£	s.	d.
So it appeareth Hertfordshire have paid more than either Essex, Norfolk, or Suffolk, by	0950	00	00
Besides we paid Colonel Ayloffe out of the Treasury at Hertford, while he lay at Newport with his forces to help keep that garrison:—			
4 January, 1643	0117	18	11
29 January, ...	0145	14	10
22 February, ...	0040	00	00
And more we sent to Cambridge to pay Colonel Ayloffe's forces while he lay at Newport of the money raised upon Newport Ordinance	0900	00	00
	£2153	13	9

"So it appeareth that though any of those counties be valued at three times as much as Hertford in magnitude yet taxed but equal to us, they of that tax imposed are short of us."†

Sir John Garrard, the High Sheriff of the county, was in command of the Herts forces at Newport Pagnell during part of this year, and had exceptional opportunities of estimating the part taken by Hertfordshire and the other counties. Nor were these heavy charges confined to the year quoted above. In 1645 the Hertfordshire people were required to pay £2,432 10*s.* per month towards the Scotch Army, and in the same year Joseph Dalton, mayor of Hertford, and other members of the Herts Committee were again pleading the extraordinary charges which fell upon the county.

A point of similar interest and importance was that of the number of Hertfordshire men under arms, in proportion to the ordinary population. The late Professor Thorold Rogers estimated that in 1650 the population of England and Wales was about 4,000,000 persons, or about one-seventh of the present population. From returns of individual parishes which have come under my notice for a few years later, and allowing for the substantial wealth and industry of the county, I should be inclined to put the population of Hertfordshire, at the time of the Civil War, a little higher than this, or about one-sixth of the present population. This basis would give about 36,000 as the population at that time, and from this figure we may see about how many would be fit to bear arms. Deducting the female half of the population we should get 18,000 males. Of this number those under sixteen and above sixty years of age — the extreme limits of Parliamentary recruiting — would take away nearly another half, or say 8,000, which would leave 10,000. The Royalists and their recruits who were drawn away from the county would scarcely in Hertfordshire number more than one-fifth of these, or 2,000, and allowing another 1,000 for the clergy, and for the gentry who with their servants left the country, there would be but 7,000 men of all ranks of fighting age from which Parliament could obtain its recruits, and there would still be a good number of others who by office or incapacity would be exempt from serving in the Army. During the summer of 1644 Hertfordshire sent into the field, in the service of Parliament, apparently from four to five thousand men; and, as the balance of men of fighting age left behind would be the exemptions already referred to, and those well-to-do or engaged in the trade of the county, we thus arrive, by a rough process it is true, at the interesting conclusion that practically the whole of the labouring men of Hertfordshire between the ages of sixteen and sixty were under arms at some time during that critical summer of 1644, when the King's Army was causing such a consternation in the north of the county.

For the necessary labour of cultivating the soil and of making its malt, the county had thus to depend upon the old men and boys, too old and too young to wield a sword, and upon the women. No wonder that the Magistrates in Quarter Sessions begged for the return of their labourers (p. 55) when the corn was ripening unto harvest, or that the partially armed multitude of yeomen, old men and boys, who rose to defend their homes around Hitchin, ran away from the sight of the Royalists' cavalry! Happily this state of things did not last long, and, in regard to armed men, the county had no other such a crisis to meet.

COLLECTING MONEY AND MEN.—EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

Your crests are fallen down,
And now your journeys to the market town,
Are not to sell your pease, your oats, your wheat
But of nine horses stolen from you to entreat,
But one to be restored; and this you do
To a buffed Captain, or perhaps unto
His surly Corporal.

The arrangement for collecting and raising such enormous sums of money and levies of men as the County of Hertford had to meet, were, on the side of Parliament, provided for down to the smallest detail, with instructions for the guidance and pay of each parochial officer, as precise as any machinery of local government in the present day. For getting in the money the *modus operandi* was something of this kind. The Herts Committee had, in the first instance, power to meet in each hundred of the County, if necessary, and to call before them such persons as they thought fit, and to empower them to assess all persons in their locality, according to their estate, the amount required of them towards the County contribution for the War, and this civil-military proceeding was of the same dual character in respect to collecting the money. The

† Historical MSS. Commission Reports on MSS. at Welbeck Abbey.

County Committee, being responsible to Parliament for the money, were directed to appoint collectors in each hundred. These collectors were the Overseers and Petty Constables in each parish, who were responsible to the Chief Constable of the hundred, or to a Chief Collector for one or more hundreds, and he in his turn as the Treasurer of his hundred, or hundreds, was responsible to the County Committee, and paid over the money to the County Treasurer, who paid it over to the Treasurer of the Parliamentary Army at the Guildhall, London. "And for the better encouragement of the Collectors in this said service," says the ordinance of Parliament, "threepence in the pound shall be allowed for every sum of money which shall be collected and paid to the said Treasurer, or Receivers, twopence whereof shall be allowed to the Collectors, and the residue to such other persons as shall be employed in the same service."

Twopence in the pound was not a handsome commission for the Overseer and Parish Constable to receive, considering the task and the risk of violence to which they were exposed, and the difficulty of getting in the assessment. But in case a person refused to pay, the Overseer or Constable had power to levy a distress, and if the defaulter resisted, the parish officers could call in the Militia or Volunteers to their aid. As a set-off against the risk of collusion between Mr. Bumble and a semi-Royalist, there was the serious responsibility incurred by the Collector of being liable to be sent for himself as a delinquent and placed under arrest if he failed either to collect or pay in the assessment. †

In the opening months of 1643 a batch of Collectors were sent for, but, appreciating the difficulties of their work, the House ordered that musqueteers should assist them in their collections, while the Speaker was to issue warrants for apprehending those in arrear. In the critical months of November and December, 1643, and January to March, 1644, when the county of Hertford was suffering from the presence of the Army of the Earl of Essex on free quarter, the Parish Constables and Overseers were earning their twopenny commission under such extraordinary difficulties as no tax-collector, from the time of the Poll-Tax and Wat Tyler, had probably ever experienced, and Parliament found it necessary to give the Collectors and Treasurers a stimulus to renewed exertions by doubling the commission for the collection.

But while the Parliament was thus able to put in force the existing official machinery of the county, and hand over the funds obtained to the County Treasurer, to be applied by a County Committee under the orders of Parliament, the Royalists on the other hand had a much less roundabout method of bringing their men and means into the field, though it was much less systematic and equitable than the *pro rata* assessment of Parliament. The Royalists' levies were the more effectual in the early stages of the War, because all local contributions went direct to the Generals in the field, where they were needed, instead of going through the hands of County Committees and being a part of the county finance. The Royalists had therefore a more effective means of exacting contributions levied by men who saw and felt the need of it in the field and were independent of local influences of a civil kind. It was this difference of method, as well as their conduct, which gave to the Royalists the character for "plundering" when their contributions failed. †

An amusing story on the subject of raising money for the King is told by Clarendon, which, as it concerns a Hertfordshire leader, may be worth giving here. In the first year

† Sometimes the Parish Collectors had to travel a considerable distance to pay over their moneys to the Chief Collector, and although the highways of the county were fairly well protected by the presence of Parliamentary soldiers, the journey from the outlying parishes must have been one of some risk. On the western borders of the county the parishes of Frithsden, Nettleden, &c., around Ashridge, almost as much Hertfordshire as Buckinghamshire parishes, were in the unfortunate position of having to carry their money all the way to the George Inn at Aylesbury, to pay it in to a Collector appointed for three hundreds of the county of Bucks, and the journey in this case was across a piece of country frequently in the grip of the rival armies.

† But it was not only the equipment of an Army for fighting that cast such a burden upon the county. Just as at the present time, when it costs on an average £1,000 to kill a soldier in war, the country has to find 8*d.* a day more or less for the widow while it is being done; so in those less scientific days of old it was necessary to provide for maimed soldiers and for the widows and children of soldiers killed in the War. This had to be provided out of sequestrated estates of Royalists, and is frequently mentioned in the orders for Hertfordshire. At a pinch when the contributions were not adequate, the surplices were taken off the clergy and applied to this purpose, and ministers were ordered "not to wear them during divine service."—*Commons' Journals*, 3rd Oct., 1643.

of the War, whatever it may have been afterwards, the raising of money, arms, and men for the rival armies meant a good deal of calling upon and personal canvassing the gentry and leading families for contributions of money or arms, and not a little tact. Lord Capel and Ashburnham were sent to two great, but rather miserly men, living near Nottingham—the Earl of Kingston and Lord Dencourt—and each was armed with a letter from the King to borrow ten or five thousand pounds.

Capel was sent to the Earl of Kingston, and Ashburnham to Lord Dencourt. Capel was very civilly received and entertained by the Earl, who, however, adroitly expressed the "great trouble he sustained in not being able to comply with His Majesty's commands," and the fact that it was a matter of common knowledge that as he was frequently buying land, he could not have money by him for such a purpose, but ventured to suggest that he had a neighbour, the Lord Dencourt, who lived within a few miles of him, who "was good for nothing and lived like a hog, not allowing himself necessaries, and who could not have so little as twenty thousand pounds in the scurvy house in which he lived." The Earl advised that Lord Dencourt might be sent to, and said that "he could not deny having the money." While this was happening to Capel, Ashburnham was pressing the King's letter and claims upon the attention of Lord Dencourt, but he got rather uncivilly treated, and "after an ill supper he was shewed an indifferent bed." Next morning the old Lord with a more cheerful face said that "though he had no money himself, but was in extreme want of it, he would tell him where he might have money enough; that he had a neighbour who lived within four or five miles, the Earl of Kingston, that never did good to anybody, and loved nobody but himself, had a world of money, and could furnish the King with as much as he had need of, * * * and that he was so ill beloved, and had so few friends that nobody would care how the King used him." But Capel succeeded best after all, for though at the time he could get only fair words, the old Earl came out for the King, and was killed in his service, whereas Lord Dencourt was equally close-fisted with the Parliamentary party, and when his estate was sequestrated, made his tenants keep him as well as pay rent to Parliament.

To complete this little comedy, Capel and Ashburnham both returned to the King with their curiously identical reports at the same time, so that "he who came first had not given his account to the King before the other entered into his presence."

The work of the recruiting sergeant for Parliament during the Civil War did not differ materially from the system which prevailed down to the later Georgian era. The constable and overseer in each parish made out a list of persons between the ages of eighteen and sixty ("being of ability of body") or of sixteen and sixty in times of emergency. If the levy of men could be made without pressing, well; if not, then they were impressed. The parish officers also had to include in their return to the deputy lieutenants all horses and mares above four years of age and the names of the owners, and of all arms and guns or other useful weapons for the War, with the names of the owners of them. The deputy lieutenants had power to "charge carts, carriages, and horses for the necessary service of Parliament," and allowed "for every cart with five horses twelvepence per mile outward only and ratably for more or fewer horses."

The demand when made was imperative, and if a farmer refused his horses and carts he could be imprisoned at once, or ordered to pay a fine not exceeding £10; though his harvesting of hay or corn, or conveyance of corn or malt to market had to wait.

The manner in which the industrial life of the county was affected was as much due to the conditions under which the War was carried on as to the War itself. The absence of any standing army properly equipped for a winter campaign such as would be available in modern warfare, coupled with the almost impassable state of the roads in winter time, brought about a lull in the conflict as the winter months came round. The County Militia returned to their homes, and the regiments of regular soldiers that did remain in arms usually went into some sort of winter quarters, at least during the first years of the War, there to remain in comparative inaction until the return of spring made a renewal of operations possible. Besides the burden which thus fell upon the inhabitants of a county in which the Army passed the winter months, there was this unfortunate effect in the labour market, that the Volunteers returned to their homes just when there was least for them to do, and they were again taking up arms when the operations of husbandry or other callings required their services.

As to the nature of Hertfordshire industrial life, there is no doubt that the whole of the

county was very well described by Taylor, the poet, whose lines (though somewhat overdrawn) I have quoted above, as one which "surpasseth all countries and counties for making excellent malt,"—and also "for kind men, women faire and honest and of anything that is necessary * * a plentiful store." But, however that may be, the prevalence of the malting industry was at the time of the Civil War especially notable in the whole of the northern and eastern half of the county; to which it may be interesting to add that hops were also cultivated in the county. It was not therefore the yeoman alone that was crippled on his land for horses and labour just when both were most needed, but the effect of the War generally operated very frequently against this great malting industry which existed around Hertford, Ware, Stortford, Hitchin, and Royston, and was of vital interest to the people in those days.

The manufacture of malt for the enormous consumption of malt liquor, when such luxuries as tea, coffee, and cocoa had not found their way on to the breakfast table, was carried on under totally different conditions from those which prevail in the same parts of the county to-day. It was then an industry in which almost every class in the community had a pecuniary interest. Just as the spinning wheels of our great grandmothers of the 18th century narrowed down from a universal employment to huge cotton mills, so the Hertfordshire industry of malt-making as we now see it carried on in Ware, Stortford, and other places, by a few large manufacturers, has come down to us from a widely-spread industry in which even the wage-earning class then had an interest. Maltings, some of them on a very small scale and of very humble construction, were in active operation in almost every village in the north of Hertfordshire and adjoining parts of Cambs and Essex, as such names as "malting-yard," &c., in many of the villages still testify.

Not only the well-to-do, but the small tradesman, the mechanic, and even the domestic servant found malting barley a convenient, safe, and profitable investment when country banks were not. Everyone who could buy a quarter of barley did so, and sent it to one of the small maltings close at hand to get it converted into malt—for which there was a ready sale both in the market and for the use of private families—just as the cottager in the present century has got his grist ground at the mill, as the spinner sold her yarn, or later the straw plaiter her plait. †

What this old Hertfordshire malting industry was, just on the eve of the great Civil War, is shown in the clearest possible manner by the State Papers of the reign of Charles I. (Domestic Series), from which the following is extracted:—

"Most of the maltsters in the county are of mean ability and are chiefly employed by gentlemen and others who send their barleys to be malted for the provision of their houses; also widows, and the portion of orphans, servants who have some little stock, and others who like not to put their money to usury, buy barley and hire the malting of it by the quarter."

The same authority further states concerning the persons who did the malting:—

"These poor maltsters are very useful to the county, pay good rents, and have borne all taxes, * * * So in the villages many petty maltsters make malt for themselves and supply the markets. Many mechanics and men of small trades employ their wives and children and servants in malt making while they themselves followed other callings."

It is clear from this that the number of persons then having an interest beyond the mere receipt of wages, in one of the two great industries of the county, was many times greater than it is now, and that it was an economical advantage to the people and to the county is evident from the State Papers themselves, where the doings of these thriving village maltsters and the yeomen may occasionally be found recorded side by side.

We thus see that the evolution of most of our present great industries—great maltings, great farms, and great mills—has proceeded in each case upon similar lines. Each in its turn annihilating the little maltsters, the yeomen's holdings, and the hand-spinning in the cottages; draining away that community of interest and margin of earnings over the bare wages of the day labourer, which prevailed when the industrial life of our Hertfordshire villages bound up all classes to a degree in striking contrast with the labour and social problems in the country

† This universal interest in barley and malt is reflected in the wills of deceased persons, who then left so many quarters of barley to relatives as often as persons now leave their money.

now, when politicians of all parties are standing on the brink of the gulf between the great employer and the workman's bare wage, urging the Legislature to find a Quintus Curtius to jump into the chasm—if it can.

It is easy to understand that with an industry such as this of malt-making, a great deal of carting was required, and it was here that the demands of the War broke in upon both the yeoman and the maltster with imperious demands for horses and wagons for transport, and for men as wagoners, when horses and men were most needed. The great corn market at Royston still maintained its supremacy as a mart which had called forth the boast of its fame from Queen Elizabeth,† and the traffic of corn and malting carts and wagons along the Ermine Street between Royston and Buntingford, and between Buntingford and Ware, was so incessant and heavy that this great thoroughfare, like many others in the 17th century, was so literally cut to pieces as to become utterly impassable for wheel traffic in the winter months. The King in Council, finding that he wanted to come that way occasionally himself, to his houses at Royston and Newmarket, called upon the justices sitting at Buntingford and also at Ware to prohibit all wheel traffic during the winter months between Royston, Buntingford, and Ware, to give the highway a rest. This the justices did, at any rate, up to within a short time of the commencement of the War, and during those months all the malting traffic that could be carried was carried on horses' backs; and even when the rule was sometimes relaxed the heavy malting wagons were still forbidden, and permission was only extended to the passage of "carts with two wheels drawn by *not more than five horses.*" Occasionally some venturesome carter ran the gauntlet of the constables, but only to find himself hauled up before the Royston, Buntingford, or Ware justices for driving his cart along the road during "close time." ‡

When the approach of spring set the wheels of industry free, and the yeoman got on to his land, the Earl of Essex at St. Albans, or some other commander with regiments of soldiers quartered in the county, was also on the move to march away to meet the King's forces around Oxford or elsewhere, and down came the constable to press the much-needed wagons and horses for the service of Parliament. while the Train-bands of the county got into armour again to back up the constable if necessary in his demand.

One very notable fact which presents itself in a study of the causes of the War on the civil side, is the condition of the labourer as a factor in the struggle. By his social up-bringing and absence of political training he was not in a position to regard the matters about which the King and Parliament were fighting as any affair of his; though as we have seen he had in Hertfordshire, in one respect, a community of interest with other classes not enjoyed by the labourer of to-day. There is some truth in the remark that the labourer fought for whichever side happened to get hold of him, and often with very inadequate training and with no very great heart in the business, compared with Cromwell's select middle class men who, "having some conscience in their work," were destined to turn the scale of the War. The opinion that Cromwell showed little sympathy with the labourer in the struggle is, however, a little beside the mark. The issue was not one of this or that class, but of fundamental principles of government, which, if only set free, would of themselves act beneficially for all classes. Though the labourer may have cared little for either King or Parliament, there was a rallying point at which, wherever Puritanism was dominant, as in Herts, Beds, and Cambs, the labourer could be aroused. For the yeomen and the middle-class the original grievance was but the modern demand that "taxation and representation should go together," and for the labourer there was the stereotyped cry of "no popery," which could be urged with all the more effect that many old men then living remembered the Gunpowder Plot and had heard their fathers speak of the fires of Smithfield.

But if the labourer had nothing to be assessed for the War but his sinews and his life, he suffered in the excise upon all his food which reduced the purchasing power of his wages. The Hertfordshire Quarter Sessions had proceeded, *secundum*

† It is said that when the remark was made to Queen Elizabeth that "ye Spaniard would restraine their sacks [wines] from us," she made answer, "a figge for Spaine, so long as Royston will afford such plentie of good malts." *Harl. MSS.*, 6,768, Brit. Mus.

‡ The Justices were required to make a monthly return of their business—of commitments for crime, punishment of vagrants, apprenticing of boys and girls, and the maintenance of the highways—to the Privy Council, and in one of these returns preserved in the State Papers of the Reign of Charles I. in the Public Record Office, signed by Robert Chester (Royston), John Cæsar, and Arthur Capel (Lord Capel, of Hadham), it is stated that "our highwaies are not at this time, so sufficiently repayred as when time serves, wee will cause them to be." In fact, as this return was made in March (1637) the probability is that the roads were all but impassable.

artem, to lay down the amount of wages the labourer in the county was to receive. In ordinary times this could not be broken through; but immediately the stress of another factor was felt, the artificial barrier was broken down, the labour market was subject to the economic law of supply and demand, and the Hertfordshire labourer, whose employer was only allowed to pay him about 10*d.* a day, suddenly found his value so enhanced that the Parliamentary Army offered him half-a-crown a day as a wagoner, for which there was necessarily a great demand for nine months in the year, and many no doubt accepted the terms with the risk of life and limb to which the transport service was liable. As a necessary consequence it is more than likely that the Quarter Sessions wage standard in many cases fell through during the War, even with the farmers and others, in the face of such a powerful factor. If so, the young and the old men not under arms must have benefited all round, excepting in winter months, when the ordinary rule would be more observed, as the Army being then practically idle would cease to compete for the labourer's services, many of the armed men would have returned, and the suffering in the labourer's home must have been very keen.

LAND, TITHES AND TAXES.—SOLDIERS, WOMEN, AND WAR—CIVIL MARRIAGES.

The effect of sequestrations upon the tenure of land was very sweeping. Owing to the number of large landowners whose estates were sequestered by Parliament, the Committee sitting at Hertford, whose names I have given, were for the time being practically the landlords of a very large portion of the land in the county. Where the Royalist landowner happened to have any of his land in his own hands, a perplexing state of things would sometimes arise. When the general estate was sequestrated, this portion might be under growing crops of corn, and Parliament took over for the time being not only the rent-collecting from the tenants of the other parts, but the farming and harvesting of these crops. The steward or bailiff of the offending Royalist could not, of course, be trusted to farm his master's land for the benefit of the enemy, and give an impartial account of his stewardship, and so Parliament appointed someone else. Thus, while the County Committee was responsible for sequestrating the profits of the general estate, Parliament, by an over-riding order, in this instance placed the unfortunate contractor for the harvesting between two authorities, and the result was sometimes rather confusing. For instance, when Balls Park, Hertford, was sequestered from Sir John Harrison, the cultivation of the estate for the benefit of Parliament was let to Thomas Nicholls, who appears to have had a hand in a good deal of the work of the Committee at Hertford. When harvest came (August, 1644) the Committee's general order for selling the crops of delinquents was made "by some few members of the Committee" to cover Nicholls' crops as well; upon which he bitterly complains in a petition to Parliament, and states that "after spending his service in the cause of Parliament, he, his wife, and seven children, are like to be ruined by the Parliament's own Committee." So the Parliament could not do less than protect him.

Another disturbing effect fell upon the ownership and transfer of land. Many of the Royalists, with their estates impoverished, found it necessary to sell one part of an estate to redeem the other. A curious instance of the complications which sometimes arose in this way is afforded by the experience of a man named Francis Patten, of Barley, Herts, who had the misfortune to purchase a farm of one Curtis, a Royalist, of Bassingbourn, near Royston. It transpired that Curtis paid half his fine and gave security on the land for the other half, and Patten bought the estate, and "knew not but that it was absolutely discharged of the sequestration." But the Cambs County Committee took away his (Patten's) cattle for non-payment of the second half of Curtis' fine! The petitioner begged to have, and apparently got, his cattle back, paid a deposit towards Curtis' debt, and the remainder of the fine was paid "with interest" in the following year.

Among the more public sequestrations was the manor of Hitchin with all dues and fees, tolls for stallage at fairs and markets, &c., as held under lease from "Henrietta Maria ye relict and late Queen to Charles Stuart, late Kinge of England." There was under this sequestration acquired a multitude of suits and services, such as that of John Hurst, who paid twopence a year for the sign post "at ye Sunne." In order to realize a lump sum upon the long list of small revenues due to the lord, Parliament sold them in 1650 to one Samuel Chidley for £1,874 14*s.* 6*d.*, but Samuel Chidley had only ten years of fees, suits, and services, and market tolls to collect, for at the Restoration, when all leases made by Parlia-

ment of Crown lands became null and void, the manor was restored to the Crown, and Samuel Chidley had to make the best of a bad bargain.

Of the draining of many a Royalist estate in the county, a silent but none the less eloquent tale is told by the number of Hertfordshire manors which—either during the struggle or so soon after as to be probably due to its effects—passed into the hands of City Aldermen and other wealthy Londoners who had grown fat upon the famine prices and incessant demand for leather, iron, steel, arms, and ammunition, and other necessary provisions for the War. Whatever truth there may be in the general statement of Burke [*Vicissitudes of Great Families*] and others—that the more distant a county is from London the more lasting are its old families, and that nearer to the Metropolis the merchants' and manufacturers' gold tends to displace the ancient aristocracy—however this may be as a general economic factor, there is little doubt that it had a very marked operation in Hertfordshire at the time of the Revolution.

To Royalists with large families, or a generous expenditure of means, the Restoration could not restore to them the practical enjoyment of their lands, and among the forced sales from this cause was that of the manor of Stanstead Abbotts by Sir Ralph Baesh, who, plunging himself into debt by reason of his loyalty to the King in the time of his troubles, obtained an Act of Parliament to sell part of the manor, sufficient to raise £300 per annum. Other instances were those of the Newports, of Brent Pelham and Furneaux Pelham, who, being much impoverished by their adherence to the cause of the King, about twenty years after the Restoration, ceased to hold the position of landowners in the county, and their land came into the hands of the Calverts. Sir John Bellasize was obliged to sell the manor of Sacombe, and Basil More, descendant of Sir Thomas More, the author of *Utopia*, was obliged to sell what interest remained to him in the estate of More Hall, North Mimms, through the expense of his attachment to the Royal cause. The hand of the mortgagee held many other county families in its grip. Nor were the demands on the side of Parliament without their effect in this direction, for even the St. Albans Corporation were obliged to pawn the Corporation plate, upon which one Abraham Cowley held two bills of sale for £30 advanced at six per cent. †

† St. Albans *Mayor's Accounts.*

But if the pressure of the times was bad for the landowner, it was for the tenant farmer so much the worse by the many interruptions of the work of the farm upon which he lived, and the discontent in this quarter discloses a widespread agrarian difficulty, which the unsettling of affairs in the Church helped to concentrate upon the one question of tithes. So, following the precedent of these troublous years, the farmers carried their burdens to Parliament. On the 5th of May, 1646, one of those imposing cavalcades of mounted freeholders which asserted the original grievances of the counties, marched up from Hertfordshire and from Buckinghamshire, forming a deputation of upwards of two thousand persons, and there at the bar of the House of Commons as many of them as could squeeze inside "did prefer a petition against the payment of tithes." The reception they met with was much less conciliatory than that usually shown to petitioners on other subjects; for, instead of meeting with any supporter in the House, they were somewhat rudely informed by the Speaker, by direction of the House, "that they were ignorant of the laws both of God and the Kingdom, and that they must go home and obey them," and some members of the House observed, with a foresight of the agrarian difficulty which was brewing in Hertfordshire, that "tenants who wanted to be quit of tithes would soon want to be quit of rent. Nine-tenths were due to the landlord on the same ground that one-tenth was due to the minister."

But the Hertfordshire farmers were not in a mood to bear this slight in silence, and next year there was organized a monster petition together with a voluminous statement of their case which was published to the world in 1647 in a remarkable document entitled "The Husbandman's Plea against Tithes." † This remarkable document, signed by five thousand farmers and others, must have enlisted a good deal of sympathy, and was certainly not confined to those directly connected with the land, or to the county of Hertford, as the limits of population would tend to show. But it was essentially a farmers' document, directed as much against the system of land tenure as against the Church and its tithes, with a variety of practical illustrations which might have emanated from a modern farmers' club met to consider a

† "*The Husbandman's Plea against Tithes; or Two Petitions presented unto the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, by divers Freemen of the County of Hertford, with the parts adjacent, for the taking away of Tithes, published by some of the said petitioners,* 1647."

grievance upon charging a tenant rent upon his own improvements. To this point the arguments, cast in the old Puritan mould, are largely directed. Tithes, they contended, encouraged the landlord to convert his arable land to pasture, which would bring him more rent for grazing than the husbandman could give him to plough it, and so the landlord neglected or pulled down his houses, and caused the depopulation of many villages.

Then they put it in this form :—"Suppose the husbandman's stock, with his labour and diligent care, should increase yearly at the rate of 10 per cent., how stands it with the moral law of God and the law of nature, or sound natural reason, that another man should carry away every year all his increase? * * The husbandman's labour is envied him, and others, by a State policy, live upon his labour. * * Is there no year of Jubilee for us that our natural inheritance should return to us again? or are our eares boared that we and our children should be slaves to the impropriator and his children for ever?"

The drafting of protestations and the mustering of aggrieved persons in their thousands about the doors of Parliament was, however, not so much a demand to which an immediate response was expected as a means of bringing to bear such public opinion as there was, when newspapers and leading articles were practically unknown, and as a sort of leading article this Husbandman's Plea was, in itself, a rather remarkable performance, but destined to end, as other petitions had done before it, in the Hertfordshire men going back to their burdens.

It is an interesting fact, and one which is probably explained by what has been said of the situation of the county of Hertford in regard to the Metropolis, that during the struggle between King and Parliament more petitions stand on record in the Journals of Parliament as coming from the county of Hertford than from any other county. One reason for this was, of course, that it was more convenient for the gentlemen and freeholders of Hertfordshire to travel up to Westminster than for those living in the more distant counties, and there was also a special reason in the fact that the people of Hertfordshire had more than their share of the burdens of the Army.

The presenting of petitions and the response to them was pretty much of a sameness.† The petitioners in order to get any hearing for their bitter complaint (and their grievances were often terribly real) found it necessary to start their story with a rigmarole of complimentary platitude, flattering to the Parliament, before putting the screw on. The whole formality was like the presentation of a sugar-coated pill, and Parliament, well schooled in the work, deftly took off all the sugar, magnified the "good affection to Parliament" beyond its intrinsic worth, and—well, so skilfully minimised the remainder as to make the petitioners feel for the moment that they had got almost all they wanted, until they got home and could give but very little encouragement to their hard-pressed neighbours who had been unable to afford the expense of joining in the dignified but not very profitable excursion.

One of the most unpleasant experiences on the domestic side was the quartering of soldiers everywhere in private houses; some of the large houses of the county having to accommodate as many as fifty or more, "rushing in at all hours of the day and night." It is some testimony to the discipline maintained that there are comparatively few instances recorded of personal violence or incivility; though if the soldiers suspected their host of not being "well affected to Parliament" his goods and chattels were liable to seizure by the county sequestration official.‡ Sometimes the inactivity of a troop pressed hardly upon a parish in which it was quartered, as in the case of Hemel Hempstead, which sent a deputation to Parliament represent-

† It is surprising to the modern mind that Parliament tolerated this eternal petitioning of noisy crowds of country folk and London citizens about its doors. Probably no Parliament in history was ever inundated with so many petitions and noisy claimants as the Long Parliament, and certainly no Parliament could have ever got rid of them more cheaply or with more skilful diplomacy. The right of personal petition was, however, too highly valued to be interfered with.

‡ Many a Hertfordshire family, to avoid the exactions of the times, concealed their valuables in all sorts of out of the way places; as did Lady Sussex at Gorhambury. Having concealed her plate she packs up her "hangings and best stuffs" and hides them away in one of the round turrets over her bed chamber and walled it up. At the same time, having the care of Sir Ralph Verney's things pending his quitting the country to avoid the necessity of taking the Covenant, she writes to know if she shall fasten up any of his things, but afterwards writes:—"I hid none of your stuff in this hole I am making up for I dare not adventure your hangings and carpets, being out of trunks. All your other things are sewed up in bundles and trunks."

ing that Capt. Colman's troop of horse had lain there seven weeks, "whereby the county was burdened and the service neglected."

It is marvellous how the women folk passed their time, often in a state of siege, and yet—like the women folk of all ages—concerned not with the issues of the War so much as with those more precious details to the feminine mind—the petty jealousies, household arrangements, vanities, &c. So completely was this the case that where their letters are left they often contain no mention of the War, but are full of feminine gossip, with only on rare occasions such expressions as that in the Verney MSS. where one woman brusquely laments that "if these times last there will be no men left for women." Yet the women who had to suffer, and bear in suspense the burden of separations, had ever to hear, in imagination, if not in fact, the tale of woe coming to them—

> * * in the pauses of the cannon's roar
> O'er fields of corn by fiery sickles reaped,
> And left dry ashes; over trenches heaped
> With nameless dead; o'er cities starving slow,
> Under a rain of fire; through wards of woe
> Down which a groaning diapason runs,
> From tortured brothers, husbands, lovers, sons.

What all this meant for the "desolate women in their far-off homes, waiting to hear the step that never comes," is impossible to realize. But it had to be borne under domestic worries which must indeed have made England for the time an "unhappy country" to all those having no share in the stimulus to high endeavour which actual fighting afforded. There was the dead weight of the tax gatherer, as well as the collector of war money. Every time a butcher killed a bullock, calf, sheep, lamb or pig, there was a tax to pay; for it was ordered that "all beefs, muttons, veals, porks, lambs and other butcher's meat, to be killed for provision of victuals, shall pay one shilling in every twenty shillings value of the beast when he is living." The butcher who did not render a just account of all his killings every week, and pay the excise for the same, incurred a penalty of double the duty, and was restrained from carrying on the business for a whole year! The poulterer had to pay a tax of a halfpenny each on a rabbit, and a penny a dozen on pigeons, under similar penalties; and the householder killing anything for consumption was also bound to make return and pay duty for the same.

The collection of taxes was "farmed" by contractors with the Government as in much later times. The contractors for Hertfordshire in 1659 were:—William Gardiner, John Gape, Hump. Taylor, and William Rance. Most of the "farmers" were hopelessly in arrear, and were called to account. Hertfordshire stood better than any county in England, the "farmers" only owing £500 and their security was for £2,000. Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex owed about the same amount as their security, some of the Western Counties owed double their security, and the Beds, Hunts, and Cambs "farmers" owed Government £2,500 and no security. The House ordered the apprehension of the defaulters as debtors to the State.

To the burden of the taxes there came the terrible famine years of 1648-9, when wheat sold at the highest price ever reached in England, excepting in the famine year of 1597 and at the end of the 18th century. The difficulty of obtaining bare food was aggravated in Hertfordshire by the demands of London, at a time when all local markets were ruled by local conditions to an extent which is now impossible; for when supplies for the Metropolis could be more readily obtained from the nearer than from the more distant counties, the drain upon Hertfordshire and other home counties by the Metropolis must have made it go hard for the poor people of the county, who, working for 10*d.* a day, had to pay 10*s.* a bushel for wheat. If we take as a comparison the relation between wages and the price of wheat, we find that the Hertfordshire labourer, in the famine years 1648-9, was receiving less than half the present rate of wages and had to pay nearly three times as much for his bread. In other words, where the labourer of that time could purchase one pound of bread, the labourer of to-day can purchase six. Sugar was 13*s.* 4*d.* a pound, but, as the labourer had neither tea nor coffee to sweeten, that was of little consequence to him.

To the terrible distress of famine were added frequent outbreaks of the plague in Hertfordshire † during the years of the War; and in the year of 1648 it rained almost continuously and ruined the crops. But amidst all the misery and suffering there went on the old old story of the young folks marrying and being given in marriage; and young Ralph and Penelope, and

† At Whitsuntide on May 22nd, 1643, when the scenes with Mr. Sone were occurring at Aldenham, there is this little glimpse of another parish when "Henry Horsley, of the towne of Eastwick, took his child to be baptised at Hunsdon, the towne of Eastwick being infected with the plague."

Mephibosheth † and Mercy, were made one under the authority of a Magistrate, and often by the publication of banns in the open market-place.

The Hertford All Saints' Parish registers contain a number of such marriages performed by Mr. Isaac Puller, a justice of the peace, of which two may be given :—

1655. August 18th. John Essard, of Bayford, and Ellen Wallis, of Weston, published in the Market-place.

1656. August 9th. Edmonde Larkine, of Stapleford, yeo., and Grace Marshall, of the same, pub. in the Market-place, three several market days.

Similar entries occur in the Ware Parish Registers, one of the publications of banns reading :—

Joseph Godfrie } of Munden Parva } in ye Market
Marie Cherrie } of Munden Magna } Place.

The parish of Sarratt also gives similar records where the parties appear to have gone before a Magistrate at St. Albans to be married. In such cases a parchment certificate could be obtained from the justices' clerk for the sum of twelve pence. Marrying before witnesses is referred to in the following case at Hadham in August, 1656 :—"Edward Missleton, of Little Hadham, a poore auntient widdower, and Thomasine Serjeant, of Much Hadham, in Hertfordshire, an auncient widow, marryed before Priscilla, wife of John Lavender, and John Brown and others, according to the Act for marriage."

The parochial registrar under the Commonwealth has often come in for some hard knocks from the antiquary. Here is a specimen which may have been an extreme case. At Abington Pigotts, near Royston, John Ward, a labourer, came before a justice in 1653 and took his oath "well and truly to execute the office of Registrar for the aforesaid parish of Abington for so long as he shall stay in the sayd office, according to the Act of Parliament, set forth and provided." In fact, parochial offices, as well as those of more consideration, got strangely upset in the distractions of the times, and rough and ready expedients had to be resorted to. At St. Albans, when the hangman was wanted to hang an old man and apparently was not to be found, the Mayor credits himself with a shilling "paid to a boy of Barnet who supplied the place of hangman for an old man."

† In the Ware Parish Registers the old-world and sometimes fantastic names of the Puritan folk were outdone by an individual bearing the strange name of "Humiliation Scratcher."

CAMP-FOLLOWERS AND DRINKING. CROMWELL AND "LOCAL OPTION."—THE PURITAN SUNDAY.—CONCLUSION.

The fortunes of war, and the roving disposition induced thereby, not only unsettled the labour market, or rather the labour Statutes, but also those old-world regulations for trade enjoyed under the privileges of the freemen of cities or towns. At St. Albans, for instance, the arrival of the great Parliamentary Army, which was so frequently near, must have brought with it an influx of strangers like the rush to a modern gold diggings, bringing a population five or six times that of the borough in ordinary times, including a supply of itinerant traders of every conceivable variety, amongst whom vendors of pamphlets and news-letters were of course to the fore. When the Army moved away some stayed behind and competed with the duly enfranchised traders of the borough. About ten days after that great Army of nearly 20,000 which marched with their ultimatum from Royston in 1647 had left St. Albans for Berkhamsted, a Court was held at St. Albans at which the Burgesses had complaints before them that many strangers and foreigners were received into the Borough to inhabit, and were entertained, "to serve freemen and others and to pursue their callings," and it was ordered that in future "no stranger, be he journeyman or servant, single or married," should remain in the Borough longer than six days without giving an account of himself to the Mayor. The officers of the Borough were directed to apprehend strangers and bring them before the Mayor, to be sent back to the place of their abode, or procure sureties to prevent the Borough becoming chargeable for them ; and it was made penal for a townsman to lodge a stranger for more than six days.†

If this was so while the soldiers were still under arms, it must have been even worse when the War was over. That regular and sternly disciplined force, the famous Ironsides of the Parliamentary Army, have earned the testimony of history to the readiness with which they went back to their trades and became absorbed into the industrial life of the people. But there were, necessarily, a great many roving characters of less repute, whose irregular military service on the one side or the other had unfitted them for a life of industry, and whose share in the

† *Records of St. Albans* by A. E. Gibbs, p. 78.

lawlessness of an unsettled time had made them a dangerous element. There is in the Library of the British Museum an interesting printed broadsheet which shows how the Hertfordshire magistrates dealt with such characters during the Commonwealth. It is an order issued by the Hertfordshire Court of Quarter Sessions held on the 14th and 16th of July, 1656, and is signed by Edward Hide, clerk of the Peace.†

By virtue of this order it was the duty of the parish constable when a rogue or "vagabond" turned up in his parish to punish him and then convey him to the next parish, the constable of which had to pay the first-named constable 2*s.* for his trouble, which was charged to the parish account; the constable of the second parish thus had a motive apart from his duty in handing on the "rogue" to another parish and getting 2*s.* for himself in a similar way. Thus from parish to parish the social pariah got handed till he reached his place of birth or recognised place of abode. The name "rogue," in the estimation of the Hertfordshire justices, had rather a wide meaning, and the above order of the Quarter Sessions lays down particular definitions as to the persons who were deemed to be "rogues." In the rather sweeping black list were included "scholars going about begging;" sea-faring men "pretending they had lost their ships"; idle persons using any subtle craft, feigning "a knowledge of phisiognomy, palmestry, or other like crafty sciences; pretending that they can tell destinies, fortunes, or such other phantastical imaginations"; also all fencers, bear-wards, wandering minstrels, jugglers, tinkers, ballad singers, common labourers refusing to work at the Quarter Sessions wage; also all persons pretending to be or wearing the habit of Egyptians (gipsies), and "all persons wandering up and down the country to sell glasses."

If the constable failed in his duty to such rogues found begging or practising their crafts, he was liable to a penalty of 20*s.* for not punishing them and of £5 for not conveying them to the next parish. There was also a penalty against private persons knowing of such rogues begging if they did not disclose the fact to the parish officials; and a reward of 2*s.* for every "rogue" which a private individual brought to the parish constable to be punished. In this way, by one means or another, the "rogues" of various sorts found themselves shifted from pillar to post, and the whipping posts and stocks were in frequent demand.

In an age when the drinking of prodigious quantities of sack and malt liquor was almost a virtue, the part played by innkeepers on the great thoroughfares along which rolled the stormy current of the War must have been one of great profit and of peculiar interest. Through Watford, St. Albans, Ware, and Royston there went a never ending stream of transport wagons, soldiers on the march; and, over and above these, petitioners carrying their grievances to Parliament, an almost incredible number of individuals who for some rash act done or hasty word spoken were "sent for" to Parliament, together with their witnesses to be heard, besides friends of imprisoned Royalists going up with heavy bribes to get a petition presented. The traffic through Hertfordshire and within an area of 30 miles of London must have been enormous, and the landlord of a roadside inn had cause to hail with fair-spoken phrase both Parliamentarian and Royalist wayfarer, for he, at least so long as the billeting was not too often, had no such reason to lament the War as was ever present to the farmer and especially the small yeoman class. When the War was over the heavy drinking along the great highways of life left behind a mischievous crop of tippling in all the numerous village alehouses, of which Cromwell was obliged to take serious note. As a result the alehouses of Hertfordshire became subject to regulations such as the advanced temperance reformers are still contending for to-day.

This was reflected in the following order passed in July, 1656:—

"At the General Quarter Sessions of the Publick Peace of the County of Hertford, holden at Hertford, for the county aforesaid, on Monday next after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, that is to say, the fourteenth and sixteenth dayes of July in the year of our Lord one thousand, six hundred, fifty and six."

"Forasmuch as his Highness, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, etc., hath taken special notice of the mischiefs and the great disorders which daily happen and are committed in Taverns, Innes, and Ale-houses, which are extreamly multiplied in this nation, and of the great prophaneness that is so spread, and the many outrageous practices and wickednesses that are from time to time committed in such houses, and that very many of the keepers of such houses, as well as the

† Declarations, Letters, &c., 190, G. 13 (105), Brit. Mus. Lib.

resorters to such houses, are lewd, evil-disposed, and debauched persons and disaffected to the present Government; which misdoings do much tend to the dishonour of Almighty God, and are a scandal to religion; therefore it is thought fit, and accordingly ordered by the Bench this present session, that no person whatsoever living in any house within this county shall from henceforth be licensed to keep any Ale-house or Victualling-house unless his house be in the common road or open street, and not standing alone; and in such places no greater number than necessity requires; and that such persons so to be licensed be of honest life and conversation and of good ability, having conveniency for entertainment of travellers and passengers; well affected to the present Government, and of persons who have not adhered to the late King and his party. * * * If a greater number of Ale-houses have been licensed in this county than are of absolute necessity, or whose houses are not convenient, or the persons not so qualified as is above expressed, that their licenses be called in and they suppressed.† Justices of the Peace are enjoined to take special care for the effectual suppressing of all such Alehouse-keepers as are or shall be convicted of the prophanation of the Lord's Day by receiving into their houses any company, or of swearing, drunkenness, suffering disorders, tippling, gaming, or playing at Tables, Billiard-table, Shovel-board, Cards, Dice, Nine-pins, Pigeon-holes, Trunks, or keeping a Bowling-Alley, or Bowling Green, or any of them or of any other games." ‡

This order, which is signed by Edward Hide, Clerk of the Peace, and was issued as a printed broad-sheet also provided that each licensed person should have a sign over his door; that no fellow innkeeper or brewer was to be accepted as surety for the performance of the conditions of the recognizance of the publican; and that if he had a lodger in his house on a Sunday he was to take him to a place of divine worship.

The typical Sunday of a Hertfordshire village at the beginning of the Civil War presented a strange compound of ritualism, public games, and Puritanical principles. Inside the Church many of the clergy out-Lauded Laud in their ritualism and out-did the King in commending Sunday afternoon sports. The assembling for public worship had become a strange feature of country life. The ritual of the one service in the Parish Church drove many of the parishioners away to some distant parish to hear a Puritan hold forth for hours together two or three times in the day. This irritated the deserted Vicar, who treated his small congregation to a denunciation of those who had gone away, on horseback or on foot, to the distant conventicle, until Puritans and "Parliament doggs" got mixed in his sermon; and, while delighting the old Cavalier squire of his parish who was too infirm to buckle on his sword, he thus played into the hands of those who were waiting to report his doings to the County Committee. For the young folks present the sermon finished with the welcome reference to the King's *Book of Sports*. The afternoon found the minister stepping down from his high pedestal among altars and images, and encouraging with his applause the younger portion of his flock as they played football, wrestled, danced round the May-pole, or shot their arrows, on the village green. But each village was as a house divided against itself, including the opposite extremes, on the one hand of Puritan attachment to preaching of long sermons and travelling long distances to hear some favourite preacher—whether from college or the forge—and, on the other hand, that sanction of authority which enabled a clergyman to stand as in the holy of holies in the chancel of his Church on the Sunday morning, and to indulge in public games outside in the afternoon.

There was quite enough Puritanism in Hertfordshire to account for the former characteristic, while the latter was the heritage of King James I, whose pedantry and sport had puzzled all orders of theological men, and found employment for many hawkers and gamekeepers in Hertfordshire, more especially about Royston and Theobalds. The *Book of Sports*, with which some of the Royalist clergy of Hertfordshire wound up their one sermon on Sunday, was not a book at all, but a Royal proclamation issued by James I., and renewed by Charles I. In this proclamation the King refers to "the complaints of our people that they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise on the Sunday afternoon, after the ending of all divine service," and he proceeds to ask—

"When shall the common people have leave to exercise if not upon the Sundays and holy daies, seeing they must apply their labour and win their living in all working daies? Our express

† At Berkhamsted this Cromwellian local option found expression in 1659 in the order that "there shall not be more than six alehouses lycensed to draw or sell beare or ale within the burroughe, without the consent of the major part of the whole company."

‡ Declarations and Letters, etc., 190, G, 13 (106), Brit. Mus. Lib.

pleasure therefore is that * * no lawful recreation shall be barred to our good people which shall not tend to the breach of our aforesaid lawes and canons of our Church * * * and our pleasure is that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other harmless recreation; or from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine service, and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to Church for decorating it according to their old custom."

There was added a proviso rather difficult for the parochial Dogberry to administer, I imagine, that no one was to indulge in any of the recreations specified who had not attended Divine service beforehand. Under this proclamation, which had to be read in Parish Churches, and was renewed by Charles I., and commended by Hertfordshire clergymen, there was a licence wide enough to shock the Puritan folk as they returned home on a Sunday evening from hearing long drawn sermons from such men as Heath, the collar-maker of Watton; Crew, the tailor of Stevenage; Carter, of the one eye, or even of John Bunyan himself; only to hear as they neared their village the merry-making of the dancers, the football players and archers, pledging each other at the village ale-house.

In the end, however, the Puritans of Hertfordshire, when they once got hold of the handle, made a clean sweep of what, to them, was as distasteful as the preaching of any tinker to the old Royalist and Cavalier clergyman could be. The village Sunday was stripped of its "heathenish vanities," May-poles were pulled down, and all the diversions sanctioned by the *Book of Sports* were forbidden upon pain of five shillings or a sentence of three hours in the stocks. Even the little children were forbidden to be merry on Sunday, and the parent or guardian was fined a shilling for each child that played any of the forbidden games on the Sabbath. The professional tramp, "rogue, vagabond or beggar," who has cut his Bohemian figure on every page of history, had to be bundled off to Church by the Parish Constable, and had to "remain there soberly and orderly during the time of Divine worship."

But the orders of Parliament in this, as in other matters, were framed with some regard to exceptional circumstances. While most tradesmen and shopkeepers were forbidden to show or cry their wares on the Sabbath, the milkman was allowed to go his round on Sunday morning before nine, and in the afternoon after four o'clock, in winter, and before eight o'clock and after five in the summer half-year, that is, from March to September. Exception was also made for the dressing and sale of victuals "in a moderate way in Inns and victualling houses for the use of such as cannot otherwise be provided for." As for the King's *Book of Sports*, that had to be publicly burnt by the Justices of the Peace, as it was burnt by the common hangman in London.

The temporary triumph of extreme measures must ever be fatal to stability of government, and the great Commonwealth period was no exception, but rather a signal illustration of the rule. Commencing with a splendid protest—a sturdy "no" thundering in the ears of all men—which carried Hertfordshire and other counties up to the doors of Parliament in the year 1641, the struggle for civil and religious rights and Parliamentary privileges was at that time overwhelmingly against the King. The county of Hertford was so unanimous that at first it had only one of its leading men—Mr. Thomas Coningsby, the rigorous levier of Ship-money—on the side of the King, and yet the same county, when it came to sacrificing the King, could only produce one man, Colonel Axtell, who dared to boldly stand up for this extreme measure. Whether the Royalists, in supporting the right Divine of Kings to govern wrong, had a greater constitutional sanction for their conduct than could be claimed by those who were contending for another fundamental principle of constitutional government—whether one set of men who suffered were martyrs and the other only rebels, are questions of political casuistry which need not be discussed here. It is enough to know that Hertfordshire men suffered by both extremes in the ups and downs of a changeful time. When the King lost his head Lord Capel lost his; when the violent re-action at the Restoration brought the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton out of their tombs at Westminster to the gallows at Tyburn, it placed the head of Daniel Axtell, of Berkhamsted, upon Westminster Hall.

As the return of Monarchial rule proceeded with its revelry and dissipation it seemed as if all the work of the tragic hurly-burly was to be undone, and amidst the terrors of the plague, in

which Hertfordshire people shared, thoughtful men might well have asked themselves what was to be the end of all these "unhappy times"; whether, after all the sacrifices, the latter end of their life was not likely to be worse than the first! But to those who lived to obtain a glimpse of the true proportion of things, after the smoke of battle had cleared away, it became evident that a leaven of sterner stuff had been left behind in a considerable portion of the English people; a leaven which had further work to do in the subsequent stages of the struggle for religious liberty.

There had been such an object lesson placed before the English people in regard to the impossibility of governing them without due regard to a workable equilibrium in the relationship of royal prerogative and the popular voice, as was destined to last for centuries. Cromwell's party, with all their faults, and the vagaries of some of their followers, were fighting for the salt in the family cupboard—for character, reality, and earnestness in national affairs. For this stringing up of the moral fibre of our national life, and for no small share of that heritage of solid respect for the name of England abroad, England still owes a debt to the Huntingdonshire farmer. The facts that a Stuart King lost his head at Whitehall and that Cromwell's bones were gibbeted at Tyburn, are but the expression of men's passions, swayed by the extreme tendencies of the conflict. In the one case a King, otherwise amiable, took the risk of trifling with great constitutional principles, and in the other a man of mettle dared to handle a two-edged sword, and both were overtaken by the risk. Yet the principle which the one lightly ignored and the other so sternly justified was never more active than in our public life of to-day.

It may be said that those old Hertfordshire clergy who defied even their own parishioners to the extent of seeing the altar rails pulled down, were, at least on the ecclesiastical side of their office, standing up for a system that was destined to prevail in the end, and for a system which has been, I suppose, almost uniformly adopted in the same Hertfordshire Churches in later times; but, as Professor Gardiner has said, "the result was only finally obtained by the total abandonment of Laud's methods. What had been impossible to effect in a Church to the worship of which every person in the land was obliged to conform, became possible in a Church which anyone who pleased was at liberty to abandon." Not only did it become possible, but it was destined to become much more acceptable and operative by the freedom to choose which ultimately prevailed.

The experience of Hertfordshire during the Civil War, however imperfectly it may have been presented to the reader in these pages, has, I think, this historical value: that, without having felt very much of the edge of the sword among its people, it does, nevertheless, help us, more than that of most counties, to understand how it was that the sword became the political arbiter. It shows us a Parliament, often hopelessly divided in itself, seeking to be supreme in the field, yet acting through a multiplicity of local authorities—civil, military, and ecclesiastical—and placing even its commanders at their mercy, till the professional soldier, discontented, and often minus his pay, lost all respect for the mere Parliamentary machine; and, still professing his faith in "the good old cause," took into his own hands what appeared to be the immediate and pressing necessities of the case which a divided and vacillating Parliament, largely under the influence of the City of London, had failed to grasp. It was this, even more than the valour of the Ironsides, it was this as much as the military genius of Cromwell, which ultimately handed over the government of the country so completely to the power and control of the Army. How far the King himself was to blame for the drastic solution which, beginning in St. Albans Abbey, cost him his head at Whitehall, can never be determined, but that it was reached by the fatal process of drifting rather than by a deliberate intention from the beginning, there is enough in the survey of one county to show.

But however that may be, it may, I think, in conclusion be claimed that the part played by the county of Hertford and its people was not without its points of special interest; depending not so much upon the effect of the sword, which left its scars on other fields, as upon its connection with the events affecting the King, his fate and his followers; and upon the substantial contribution made by the people of Hertfordshire to this rugged chapter of the old, old story which tells that

> Freedom's battle once begun
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son
> Though baffled oft is ever won.

APPENDIX.

I.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

In those anxious months of 1643 when the county of Hertford was filled with alarming rumours of plundering by Prince Rupert on the Western borders of the county, and Lady Sussex was arming her servants at Gorhambury with "caribens and twenty ponde poder"; when Lord Grey, of Wark, was marching through Hertfordshire with his 4,000 foot and 1,500 horse—on that occasion a notable instance of the troubles of taking county forces out of their county occurred at Watford, where they were coming in rather close quarters with the Royalists. A large part of the Parliamentary force had been drawn from Essex, and this communication goes to the Deputy-Lieutenants of that county :—

"1643, April 17th. Watford.—On our march out of Essex by the directions of Lord Grey, of Warke, we, as far as we could, obeyed all his orders, and we are now quartered at Watford on the edge of Hertfordshire, out of which neither officer or soldier is willing to move, being out of the Association, without some special and authentic order, and such accommodation as may relieve them in their marches, and secure them from the enemy. They expect, and I doubt not resolve with alacrity and courage, suddenly to fall upon the enemy, but the want of the necessaries I shall propound is a main stop and hindrance to their better resolutions"

Then follows a list of things wanted—waggons for transport, a surgeon, an able religious teacher to apply and administer comfort and courage to the soldiers, and a larger supply of ammunition, etc., etc.

* * *

1645. Of the friction caused in Hertfordshire when soldiering ceased to be a county affair and new officers were put in command under the New Model (p. 57), Denzill Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, of Aldenham, Herts, in his Memoirs, wrote strongly :—"Some of the horse who had served under my Lord Essex were a little stiff, and made some show of standing out in Hertfordshire, which our violent, bloody new Modellers would have made advantage of presently to have fallen on them and put them to the sword, but Parliament followed more moderate counsels, by sending down some of their old Officers, who disposed them to submission." He further alleges that, notwithstanding this conciliatory course of Parliament, Mr. St. John wrote a letter under hand to the Committee of Hertfordshire, that they should raise the country and fall upon these men and put all into blood, contrary to the desire and endeavour of Parliament; "a villainy never to be forgotten nor forgiven of any man, much less in a man of the law."

Of that interesting march of King Charles I. and his forces, after the defeat at the battle of Naseby, which brought the King to Huntingdon for the entry to which he had to fight, in August, 1645, the following additional particulars are given in a letter from Mr. Lowry, the member for Cambridge :—

"1645, August 27th. Cambridge.—The King beat our forces at Huntingdon, and took Major Gibbs and some 60 prisoners, being all common soldiers, which are sent to Cambridge in exchange of some of our prisoners, and not above five killed in the fight. We have had strong alarms within four miles of our town. We stood upon our guard and summoned all the counties to come in, which accordingly came in to our assistance—only Essex—not a man of which came in, notwithstanding letters sent unto them divers times of our dangers. The last answer I had from them was that our town and castle was taken, and so thought not fit to come. I have been drawing all our forces these three nights into the fields, taking no posts, which I believe standing upon our guard both in town and field hath hindered the King of his design. For the present our fears are somewhat blown over.

The King marched from Huntingdon yesterday unto St. Eoates (? St. Neots), and this morning we hear that he is at Bedford, and they are very much affrighted as appears by some prisoners we have taken. We have sent six troops of our horse in the pursuit of the King this morning.

"Postscript.—Since the sealing of my letter our six troops of horse are retreated where they were, ten miles from us, and they report that the enemy was there with a strong party. But how true I know not, which hath put us into new fears, yet however are resolved to stand to it for the safeguard of the town." †

The Earl of Warwick, in a despatch of a few days later, states that "Upon this alarm of the enemy's coming to Huntingdon I drew up all the forces of Essex, being 6,000 foot and 900 horse, and 500 dragoons, towards Cambridge, as also 4,000 foot and 500 horse came out of Suffolk for the guard of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. And upon the retreat of the enemy I dismissed them according to the order of the Committee of both Kingdoms." ‡

His Majesty's movements upon this occasion are thus chronicled by Heath:—"Being at liberty to go whither he would, but of no strength to make use of and enjoy it; like consumptive bodies whose legs do last of all fail them, * * his marches were so volatile, uncertain, and swift that no resistance could be made; so that he mastered where'er he came, alarming his enemies everywhere. * * In this manner he surprised Huntingdon-Town, which he entered on Sunday afternoon in service time, with some little opposition made against him at the Bridge, where he slew the Captain and Lieutenant that maintained it with most of the souldiers and put the town to ransome. * * From thence he marched and * * faced the town and University of Cambridge; but out of his favourable regard to that place departed as suddenly, but yet the fright of his coming had driven the most factious out of the colledges in the town; while his Majesty contented himself with casting a benevolent look upon that nursery that had been planet-struck with the astonishing seizures of the Rebellion. * * His next stage was Ouburn [Woburn, Beds], having by the way fined St. Ives in £500." [*Chronicle of the Civil War.*]

* * *

1646.—A fresh source of information has come under my notice since writing the account on pp. 61–2 of the pathetic journey of the King through Herts in disguise, with only two attendants, in 1646; and also another reference to the same event which had escaped my observation. As the incident is one of peculiar interest I may perhaps briefly refer to them here. In the "Confessions and Examinations" of Michael Hudson, the "plain dealing chaplain," who was one of the King's two attendants, there is this statement—

"About 2 of the clocke we tooke a guide towards Barnet resolving to crosse the roads into Essex; but after we were passed Harrow upon-the-Hill I told the King if he were not knowne much in S. Albons Road it was much the nearer way to go through S. Albons and thence towards Royston; which he approved of. And soe we passed through S. Albons, where one old man, with an halberd, asked us whence we came? I told him from Parliament, and threw him 6*d.*, and soe passed."

He then gives an account of the scene with the drunken horseman described on p. 61, and, proceeding, says—

"His Majestie lodged at Whisthamstede, but he was commanded by his Majestie not to reveal the place where his Majestie lodged." †

In another statement he said: "The first night when they wente from Oxford and lay at Withamstede the King held out well"; and further that "the King lay in a grande chamber and Mr. Ashburnham and I lay together." †

All this points to the probability of the King seeking shelter at Lamer Park; the only statement to the contrary being the remark by Hudson, in another part of his confessions, that "the King stayed at noe gentleman's house on his journey but at Mr. Cave's at Stamford"; and even this may have been designed to throw suspicion off Sir John Garrard, whose action the King may have wished to conceal.

To the imaginative reader there may, perhaps, be a peculiar interest in that glimpse of the old man with his halberd, pacing backwards and forwards on sentry duty at the Fort which guarded the Holywell Hill entrance to St. Albans, which at that time was fortified; for, had the old man not picked up that sixpence or had doubted the magic words "from Parliament," and so called other assistance to stay the

† *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* on MSS. at Welbeck Abbey.
‡ *Ibid.*

† Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib. vi.
‡ Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.

weary horsemen in their march, it may be that the history of England would have been somewhat different.

* * *

It is alleged in Holles' *Memoirs* that the cry of "justice, justice" raised by the soldiers at Thriplow Heath in reply to the votes of Parliament "was a note that Cromwell and Ireton had taught them;" but though Cromwell's leaning towards the use of the Army as a political agent may seem to date from the Thriplow and Royston incidents, Holles' testimony in this and other matters is not quite unbiassed, because he happened to have been one of the eleven members whose impeachment was demanded by the Army upon their arrival from Royston at St. Albans.

* * *

1648.—The scene of the Battle of St. Neots, described on pp. 84-5, may, I think, be fixed with a little more precision than is there observed. There appears to be good reason for supposing that the old inn with its back to the river, in which the Earl of Holland was captured while the Cavaliers were being put to the sword in the yard, or chased through the Ouse, was the inn still known as the "Half-Moon."

Of the engagement itself Col. Scroop, in his own despatch, says: "The enemy when we entered the town were drawn up into three bodies, which my forlorn hope charged and routed before the rest of my Horse entered, but when the rest came up the dispute was quickly at an end, for then they got out at all the passes and ran for it, but divers of them fell and some of the chief ones. I had marched all day Saturday and all night that my horse were unable to pursue further than Huntingdon."

* * *

The feeling which prompted the fight in the Market Place, at Royston, "to revenge the blood of the late King," in the summer of 1649, and the disturbances in other parts of Hertfordshire, had not quite died out two years afterwards, and helped to account for local efforts in support of the claims of Charles II. In the "several examinations and confessions of Thomas Coke, Esquire," preserved in the MSS. at Welbeck Abbey, there is this local record:—

"1651, April 3.—I employed one Major Hall att Royston, to sollicite the people in those partes to joyne with the King, if there were occasion. He hath layne there and sometimes in towne here ever since I came over, and assured mee hee could have one thousand men in those partes att three dayes' warning. † They only want armes and ammunition, whereof they have little, especially of the latter. The designe is to seize upon the publique magazines on occasion att Hartford and Cambridge; but the countrey people have very many armes in their houses. Hee was to bee made a Lieutenant-Colonell to Mr. Ayliffe, I mentioned yesterday. There is one Squire Cæsar, Mr. Gulston, Mr. Randall, and others I cannot now call to mind, will bee ready to assist in those partes. One Charles Baxton, an inn-keeper in Royston, that is active in stirring up the people to that purpose, and one Thomas Turner, living likewise in that towne, goes up and down the countrey to that end."

* * *

Capel.—There is reason to believe that Capell was the correct spelling of this nobleman's name. The Seventeenth Century was not, however, a time when spelling was a fixed quantity even in proper names, and as most of the authorities referred to in this book, from the Journals of Parliament to modern writers, have the name with the single *l.*, I have adopted this form rather than puzzle the reader with frequent contradictions where quotations had to be made. The late Earl of Essex adopted the older form of Capell, which the present Earl also bears, but other members of the family still adhere to the form of Capel.

* * *

Falkland.—It is stated in Mr. Money's *Two Battles of Newbury* that on the morning after the 1st Battle of Newbury in 1643 in which Lord Falkland fell (p. 113), that the following letter was sent by Prince Rupert to the Earl of Essex:—"Wee desire to know from the Earl of Essex whether he have the Viscount Falkland, Capt. Burtue [Bertie] and Sergt.-Major Wilshire prisoners, or whether he have their dead bodies, and if he have that liberty may be granted to their servants to fetch them away. Given under my hand at Newbury this 21st September, 1643. —Rupert."

The body of Falkland having been recovered on the battlefield, it was placed across the back of one of the Royal chargers and mournfully escorted down the hill by a detachment of the King's own troops and gently laid in the Town Hall. Lord Falkland had, three months before

† This Major Hall was apparently a son of a former Master of Posts under King James and King Charles who lived on the site of the old Hospital of St. James and St. John in Baldock Street, near the Cross, and, if so, was a likely man for the business referred to.

the Battle of Newbury, in which he was killed, made his will (at Oxford, 12 June, 1643), by which he left all his personal estates to his "dearly beloved wife Lettice, Viscountess Falkland, whom I appoint my ex'trix, she to have the education of my three sons, Lucius, Henry, and Lorenzo." The portrait of Lord Falkland by Vandyke shows an almost boyish face for one so eminent, though with a pathetic far-away look in the eyes indicative of the philosophic spirit of the man.

* * *

Axtell.—In the Thurloe State Papers there are some minor references to Col. Axtell's giving up his commission in Ireland. These did not seem to be necessary to go in the sketch of his career, which appears elsewhere. In one of them he is evidently in some trouble with the Government. In another he is recommended to the Protector for foreign service, only a few weeks before Cromwell's death, and in another, a long letter from Cromwell's son Henry, the Lord-Deputy, the sudden resigning of their commissions by Axtell and other officers, is described. "Finding themselves of late not to have bin made use of they could not with satisfaction to their conscience receive pay from the publique without doeing service for it; and that they had upon solemn seekinge of God and serious deliberations with themselves, represented to his Highness their resolutions to quitt their commands."

* * *

It is of some interest to notice that when the Commonwealth had lost the man who made it, and had got into a moribund stage, Richard Cromwell, the Protector's son, who became only Protector in name, made his home in Hertfordshire at Theobalds, the old home of the Stuart Kings. Several descendants of Cromwell, though not in a direct line, have kept up a connection with Hertfordshire into the present century, and to the present time, amongst whom may be mentioned the Butler family of Royston. A direct lineal descendant of Cromwell in the female line connected with Cheshunt, it has been recently stated, is the Rev. Thomas Cromwell Bush, who, by the death of his great aunt, Mrs. Elizabeth Oliveria Prescott, at the advanced age of 92, becomes the possessor of Cheshunt Park. Of his descent the following particulars were recently given in a Cornish newspaper:—

Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father in the Protectorate, and left three daughters only, none of whom appear to have had issue, was Oliver's third son, but he had a younger brother, Henry Cromwell, Lord-Deputy of Ireland. The great-great-grandson of this latter, Oliver by name, inherited the estate of Richard at Theobalds under the joint will of his three childless cousins. Oliver died in 1821, and his only surviving daughter, Elizabeth Oliveria, took the estate into the family of the Russells, of Cheshunt, having married Mr. Thomas Artemidorus Russell, in 1801. Her eldest son left a daughter as his sole representative, and that lady, by her marriage with the Rev. Paul Bush, at present hon. canon of Truro and Rector of Duloe, near Liskeard, became the mother of the present owner of the Cheshunt property, which had, however, passed to the late Mrs. Prescott and her sister, Mrs. Warner, jointly, as the survivors of a large family. The Rev. Thomas Cromwell Bush, son of Canon Bush, of Duloe, is an Oxford man, having taken his degree at Hertford College in 1876.

* * *

The chapters on social and domestic life may perhaps be supplemented by one or two matters which were omitted elsewhere. In the confusion of the years 1643-4 it was as much as the Parish Constable and the Justice of the Peace could do to keep their heads above water; and even the Judges could not go their circuits. In 1643 both the Spring and Summer Assizes for the county had to be put off, under stress of war, but by the end of 1645-6 the Assize business was carried on as usual. The constable's "hue and cry" went forward again as heretofore, as appears by a "Baldoake" proclamation of thieves who had broken into a "taylor's shopp," at Buntingford, and carried off "stuff-lace, buttons, silck, linin, cloth, sathan, canvis, and other things." Amidst all the turmoil there were men who cultivated their tastes and their hobbies as men do now. Thomas Duckett, of Steeple Morden, near Royston, an influential man in Cambridgeshire, posed as an "inventor of new secrets for the improvement of land and leather" and a "practitioner in Physick." Mr. Duckett petitioned Parliament to appoint him a convenient house in the suburbs of London and Westminster "for the better preparation of his designs and demonstrations." Though this ancient farmers' friend professed to be able to "clear land speedily of thistles, docks, and rushes" and to "prevent rotten diseases in sheepe," Parliament, I believe, turned a deaf ear to his petition.

The modern schemes for draining Hertfordshire of its water supply for the benefit of

London had already commenced; for in 1641 a scheme was proposed for carrying water from the neighbourhood of Rickmansworth to London, and a rival scheme was proposed in the same year for the same purpose from Hoddesdon.

Among the more pathetic footprints, now almost obliterated, of the actors in the great drama are the passes for bereaved families; such as that granted in 1643, recorded in the following—

"That four servants of Sir Job Harbies' shall be permitted to attend the corps of a son of Job Harbies from Oxford to Aldenham in the county of Hertford, with a hearse and six horses; and after the solemnization there performed, the said servants are to return to London without stay or trouble."

There is this little brighter glimpse of Hertfordshire high life from the pen of George Gerrard, written to Conway on the eve of the War, in 1640. "As soon as the Dog-days began I left London and retired to one of my mansion houses, Hatfield, where I continually saw the handsomest lady I ever saw, the Countess of Devonshire; her mother, she and I often talk of you." †

* * *

As to dress and manners, a close-cropped head was no doubt a convenience to roistering London apprentices—the real original "Roundheads"—who so frequently got up a rumpus in the streets of London, but it would be unsafe to assume that, because Hertfordshire went pretty solid for Parliament, those "Knights, gentlemen and freeholders," who so frequently travelled up to Westminster with the grievances of the county, were a band of surly-mannered men in uncouth dress and close-cut hair. A Hertfordshire Justice of the Peace was no more likely to cut off his flowing locks because he disagreed with the King and inclined to Parliament than was John Milton; and I suspect that the difference in "Cavalier and Roundhead" in this matter of dress was not in civil life so extreme as is sometimes represented. For the non-combatants the chief sources of interest were the claims of the tax collector and the circulation of news; and for the latter the writers of the old News-letters knew how to make their wares attractive in the matter of head-lines. Generally the head-line was something in this style: "Joyful newes from Norwich," "Very joyful newes from Hull," "Horrible newes from Portsmouth," "Exceedingly joyful newes from Portsmouth," "Bloody newes from Maidstone," &c.; while the "Terrible newes from Hartford," to which reference has been made, outdoes the modern journals in one respect. The entry in the British Museum Catalogue of this particular "Newes-Letter," takes up almost as much type as the brief description of the alarming fire itself which so upset the Hertfordshire people about their Powder Magazine [p. 17] when the War began. But the inhabitants of the county of Hertford did not depend upon casual News-letters by the morning post which came every morning from London. Besides these the London *Diurnals* and *Mercuries* were brought into the country by the mounted newsman, who signalled his approach by the blowing of his horn, the very sound of which was full of great possibilities of victory or defeat, and eagerly awaited by curious groups around the old wooden piles of the Shire Hall, at Hertford, the old Eleanor Cross, St. Albans, or at the old cross-ways in other towns. What a picture those old men of the forge, the malting, the chandler's shop, and the tavern, would have made, intently listening to the tale of Marston Moor, a Naseby fight, or of the flight of the yeoman at Hitchin, from the pen of a Defoe or a modern Archibald Forbes!

The language of the time also—its bold metaphor and imagery, its figures of speech and Old Testament phraseology—heightens for us the colour and force of the old historic drama. "A day of terror; a day of wonders; a day never to be obliterated from the tables of England's memory," is the language of some of the contemporary pamphleteers.

On pp. 52 and 56 the reference to the "Red, White, and Blue Regiments" is, perhaps, too literal; for, though the colour of the coats worn varied greatly, the reference may have been to the colours borne by the Regiments.

† This lady was the wife of the unfortunate Earl of Devonshire for whom Lord Salisbury (father of the beautiful Countess) had to pay down that £5,000 to get him out of the clutches of the Parliamentary sequestrators. [p. 148.]

II.

HERTFORDSHIRE LETTERS TO CROMWELL.

CAPT. SILAS TITUS TO THE PROTECTOR.

May it please your Highness. I should not have taken this confidence, upon that little knowledge your Highness hath had of me, to have made any immediate addresses to your Highness had I not been encouraged to it by the favours which I have heard your Highness hath been pleased to grant to others in my condition upon the like applications; and likewise been persuaded by others that, in this particular, what I should signify myself would give your Highness more satisfaction concerning me than the representations of other men. My humble request to your Highness is that by your Highness's favour and permission I may return to live in my own country, from whence by the prosecution of that course which my engagements and relations lead me, I have so long been banished. I cannot expect nor do desire that this favour should be granted to me but upon such assurances as I am able to give of my living peaceably under your Highness, and acting nothing to the disturbance of that Government from which I am to receive protection. I am very ready to take that engagement upon me, and hope that what disadvantages soever my following the dictates of that small understanding God hath been pleased to afford me hath laid upon me, yet that none of my actions will be found to accuse me of any unfaithfulness to my professions, or that can render my integrity in that kind liable to any just suspicions. I shall give your Highness no further trouble in a business of so small moment and importance to you; only shall do myself the honour of subscribing myself your Highness most humble servant.—S. TITUS.

Breda, 20th Nov., 1654." †

This letter (which I have given in modern spelling) had no effect, and on Jan. 5th, 1656, Capt. Titus, writing still from Breda, appeals to Major-General Browne, and says:—"It is now a great while since I made use of such endeavours, as I was advised to by my friends, for the obtaining of my liberty to returne into my owne country." He then asked General Browne, who has "accesse to the lord protector, to mind his Highness of me and of the request I have made. I am not conscious myself of any carriage that should make me dispaire of finding friends that will be content to engage for my peacible living; for though my owne relations have assisted my enemies to wast and ruine my small fortune in my absence, yet I doe not thinke myselfe so destitute but that I have something left me in the opinions of many honest men which it must be my faults, and not misfortune that can take from me. For my much honoured friend, Major-General Browne, at his house in White-fryars in London." †

A little more than twelve months after this, Cromwell's secretary, Thurloe, is writing thus to Henry Cromwell, in Ireland:—"There is lately a very vile booke dispersed abroad called *Killing no Murder*. The scope is to stirre up men to assassinate his highness. I have made search after it, but could not finde out the spring-head thereof."

Had Capt. Titus tired of waiting for Cromwell's favour of allowing him to return to England? His connection with the pamphlet is strengthened by the fact that it was believed to have come over from Holland, and at the house of a waterman near St. Catharine's Docks seven bundles of the pamphlet, 200 copies in each bundle, were found, a discovery which led to no end of examination of witnesses, but not to much light being thrown upon the subject.

* * *

"THE COMMISSIONERS FOR HERTFORDSHIRE TO THE PROTECTOR.

May it please your Highness to accept this humble earnest of affection and a duty from us, who by virtue of particular letters received from Major Packer intimating your Highness pleasure that wee meete at convenient tyme and place for the putting execution certaine your orders and instructions for secureing the peace of the Commonwealth and particularly of this county; wherein we have amongst others the honour by you to be nominated commissioners. That in order hereto we have now twice mett and heard read the severall commissions of your Highness herein constituting and appoynting the Lord Fleetwood (deputy of Ireland) Major-General of this county, a person so acceptable and well pleasing to and amongst us that we do unfaiedly profess there could none have been nominated more welcome or received with greater affection and goodwill. And uppon the readeing of

† *Thurloe State Papers*, ii, 720.

† *Ibid*, iv, 347-8.

the severall commissions with the instructions and directions hereunto apperteyning (from your Highness to him and us directed) wee must needs acknowledge (and bless God for) your Highness greate zeale and unfailing care, very eminently tending to the support of godliness, and indeed the only means (that we can discerne) left for the securing the (much maligned) peace of this Commonwealth. And doe in all sincerity profess that in our stations and places wee looke uppon it as a duty much incumbent uppon us to bee assisting to your Highness that you neither faint nor wax weary in your very greate and important undertakings, but may continue steady and strong, upon the discomfiture of all God's enemys who, either abroade or within this Commonwealth, shall oppose the power of godliness, or design the breach of our present peace, and further, at present we dare not be troublesome, only we beseech God that His mercy and kindnes may still environ you; and wee continue to bee, your Highness most humble servants,

John King,	John Edlyn,
Alexander Weld,	John Reade,
Anthony Spinage,	Ad. Washington,
John Kensey,	Richard Combe,
Thomas Empson,	Daniel Nicoll,
John Brograve,	William Packer,
William Disher,	Henry Blount,
Joen Haiman,	—— Coxe,
William Turner,	William Marsh,
John Marsh,	William Reeve,
Francis White,	R. Gladman,
William Cox,	J. Gladman,
William Hickman.	

Hertford, this 3rd day of March, 1655."

This document is of interest as showing that many of the most active Hertfordshire Parliamentarians had remained consistent supporters of what they called the "good old cause," for which Parliament took up arms, however much some of them may have differed over the execution of the King. * * *

"MAJOR-GENERAL PACKER TO THE PROTECTOR.

May it please your Highness. I had yesterday a meeting with coll. Cox and coll. Marsh in order to what you were pleased to propound of raysing a regiment in this county, and I find since my last speakeing with coll. Marsh hee is in his resolutions, wholy altered as to the acceptance of the imployment as collonell, yet professeth it is upon noe other ground but the indisposition of his body, hee being old and much weakened by several distempers; and he doth assure your highnes that he will further the worke in the hands of others, what he is able, to the uttermost hee haveing his heart much engaged therein; and I am confident he will. It is likewise judged by them, that coll. Washington will not in many respects bee fitt for that worke, although a very honest hearted man; soe that for a coll. I think your highnes must pitch either upon coll. Cox or Sir Richard Combes. Coll. Cox desires that Sir Richard Combes may have the command, and he resolves to rayse a company under him; yet I have thought that coll. Cox will be very fitt with respect to his haveing been in the service; the other, although otherwise fitt, yett young and inexperienced, he never yet being called out in the condition of a soldier; and if you shall please to give coll. Cox command, I am confident he will rayse a good company under him; but I doe humbly submitt the choyse to your highnes. I have here enclosed the list of tenn names, that, if they will engage, are by us judged persons very fitt; and if your highnes shall be pleased to appoint one of them collonell, we shall then consider of such persons of them as are fitt for field officers; but at present I dare not desire your highnes to put these names into Commissions the business not having been yet communicated unto them; but I have taken order for several meetings in the countrey, in order thereunto, but if your highnes will please, by the bearer, to send down a commission to one of the two forenamed persons to be collonell, and a commission to the other to rayse a company, these two companies will be quickly raysed and I shall take care for armes for them. And, if it be not too great a trust, if your highnes will please to sende down blanke commissions, I shall fill them with the advice of the persons, with whom I have thus far advised about this work, and shall be as faithful to you therein as to my owne life. I have ordered coll. Cox to take into his custody the armes and amunition that shall be found in the magazines of this county; by which I hope we shall furnish most of the men to be raysed. I doe humbly beg your highnes leave to stay in the county until Tuesday next in order to this and other publique business already appointed. The Lord of Heaven bless your highnes, relieve you in all your strayts, shew you your way, deliver you from evill, and preserve you to His heavenly kingdom. This is and shall bee the hearty prayer of him, that is

Your highnes most faithful, humble and thankfull servant,

Sept. 12, 1656 WILL. PACKER.

"If your highnes pleases you may rayse a good regiment in Buckinghamshire, and I believe there are armes almost enough to arme them. Coll. Fletcher and Major Browne and Major Theed are persons of good * *"

Both this and the preceding letter are given in the *Thurloe Papers*, and in another copy of that from the Herts Commissioners, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the missing Christain name of Alban Cox is supplied.

Major General Packer occupied an influential position in the county of Hertford during the Commonwealth, and apparently had served as a colonel at an earlier period of the struggle, and had the available references to him been more connected, he might very well have been placed with the more prominent leaders for Parliament. He was not, however, always to be depended upon, and in February 1657 (8) he, with five captains, got into trouble with the Protector. There had been "some discoursings about the present Government," and some protestations about the "good old cause." The Protector had asked them what they meant by the "good old cause," and if they could give one instance in which he had departed from it. They were then dismissed from their office as Anabaptists. †

III.

A LIST OF THE DEPRIVED ROYALIST CLERGY.

From the *Journals of Parliament*, *State Papers*, and other sources, and the lists of incumbents and the dates of their institution as given in the County Histories and in Urwick's *Nonconformity*, it is possible to compile an approximate list of those Hertfordshire parishes in which there was an intervention by Parliament for the sequestration of "malignant" or Royalist clergy and the substitution of ministers favourable to Parliament; or in which the incumbent resigned his living. These cases do not, however, tell the whole of the effects of the Civil War upon the parish churches in Hertfordshire. There were probably others among the clergy for whom some allowance must be made; who, while they remained undisturbed by Parliament, were probably inclined to what had been the settled order of things, and consequently to sympathise with the cause of the King as the head of the nation and of the Church, and yet, serving under a Puritan patron it may be, or having too high an estimate of the Christian ministry, thought it worth while to refrain from active participation in the bitter controversies of the time. In the following list only those parishes are given in which there was an actual removal of the clergyman by Parliament, or in two or three cases where there was a resignation probably due to the pressure of the times.

Aldbury.—The living of this parish was sequestered from its rector, Thomas Gilpin, in favour of James Porty, a Scotchman, in 1647. At the Restoration it was restored to Thomas Gilpin, the old rector.

Aldenham.—The living of this parish was sequestered in 1643 from the notorious Joseph Sone [p. 166] to John Gilpin, who was followed by Matthew Randall; but it was a troublesome cure, and by 1650 John Travers had succeeded them, and at the Restoration he had to make way for Mr. Joseph Sone.

Anstey.—This living was, in 1643, sequestered from Dr. John Montford [see Therfield], whose great picture of the Virgin Mary and other proceedings had brought him into conflict with Parliament. He was replaced by James Standfield.

Ayot St. Lawrence—Thomas Reid was deprived of this living in 1643, and was followed by William Janeway, who afterwards went to Kelshall and died there.

Barley.—Herbert Thorndike was removed by Parliament and Henry Prime took his place, and three others came in before the Restoration, when Thorndike came back.

Barnet.—John Goodwin, rector of East Barnet, was deprived in 1643 and gave so much trouble that three others followed him in the space of two years, and he was back again in 1650.

Berkhamsted.—This living was sequestered from John Napier, and George Phippon, his successor, was followed by four others before Napier was reinstated at the Restoration.

Bramfield.—Edward Boughton was deprived in 1643 and the living given to Thomas Owen; and at the Restoration Edward Boughton returned.

Braughing.—William Archer was sequestered by Parliament in favour of Samuel Coe.

Broxbourne.—Edward Parlett, who at first efused his pulpit to the weekly lecturer, appointed with the sanction of Parliament was deprived in favour of John Payne.

† *Thurloe Papers.*

Bushey.—Dr. Seaton, the noted Royalist rector of Bushey, was carried off to prison with Mr. Coningsby, the High Sheriff, and the living was sequestered to Marmaduke Brown.

Caldecote.—This rectory was sequestered from Thomas Marshall to Mr. Hale, and the old Rector's wife and children had to appeal to the Committee for Plundered Ministers for their "fifths" of the emoluments.

Datchworth.—Mr. Newman was removed in favour of Mr. Simon Peck, but was restored in 1660.

Eastwick.—Sequestered from John Hill to Daniel Dyke, who was followed by Joshua Kirby; and the Committee sitting at Hertford had before them Mrs. Hill and her children on a petition for their "fifths."

Essendon.—Richard Pooley, jun., was deprived and George Stallybrasse was appointed, and remained till 1660, when Richard Pooley was restored.

Gaddesden, Little.—In 1644 Barnabas Holloway, the rector, was sequestered in favour of Thomas Gray, but Mr. Holloway, the old rector, and his wife had to repeatedly bring their claims to Mrs. Holloway's "fifths" of the emoluments before the Committee at St. Albans, and eventually the Committee for Plundered Ministers had to sequester the Parliamentary minister himself for his default here, and put Mr. Adamson in his place.

Graveley.—This living was either sequestered or voluntarily given up by Mr. Brockett, and Mr. Edmund Goodwin was appointed.

Gilston.—Christopher Webb, who made himself famous here and at Sawbridgeworth, had to give place to Thomas Mockett, who and his wife made some resistance upon the return of Mr. Webb at the Restoration. [See Sawbridgeworth.]

Hatfield.—This was hardly a sequestration, but Henry Rainsford, who held the living at Hatfield, and also of Great Stanmore, Middlesex, was called upon in 1646 to give up one of them, and eventually was ordered to give up Hatfield, where he was followed by the more famous Richard Lee.

Hemel Hempstead.—John Taylor, the vicar was deprived of his living. The appointment of Mr. Kendall in his place, and the appearance of the notorious Mr. Baldwin, have already been recorded.

Hertford.—All Saints' Parish Church, which the Royalist Humphrey Tabor was alleged to have neglected and threatened the parishioners to "put them to a dry nurse," was sequestered to Francis Pecke, who soon made way for Benjamin Bourne, and the more famous Christopher Feake, of Edwards' *Gangræna.*—St. Andrew's was sequestered from Edward Baynes to William Bull, and two others during the Commonwealth.

Hertingfordbury.—Edward Baynes (of All Saints, Hertford) was deprived of this living also in 1644.

Hitchin.—Dr. Lindall, vicar of Hitchin, resigned in 1643, and was followed by three others in five years.

Ickleford.—The vicar of this parish and Pirton, Thomas Atwood Rotheram, resigned in 1642.

Ippollitts.—Francis Wilsforde was deprived in 1643, and was succeeded by Thomas Whatton.

Kensworth.—John Syddall (one of White's "Century") was deprived, and was followed by Edward Harrison, a famous Baptist preacher, who ruffled the studious John Geree, of St. Albans, and was called "a great demagogue" for his pains.

Kimpton.—Thomas Fawcette, brother of the Governor of Woodstock, was deprived and succeeded by John Starr and two others, but returned at the Restoration.

Letchworth.—Mr. Yardley, who was too poor to pay Ship-money, got sequestered here, and was succeeded by John Wright.

Little Berkhamstead.—Thomas Falthrop, who was accused of dissuading his parishioners from fighting for Parliament, was deprived in favour of Samuel Cradock.

Much Hadham.—Peter Hanstead, D.D., the rector here, died in the siege of Banbury Castle in 1645, and was succeeded by Thomas Packe, D.D., Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Munden Magna.—Samuel Ward, who as Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, got into trouble for sending the College plate to the King, was succeeded by a learned man in John Lightfoot, who became a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, an office which Samuel Ward had also filled.

Munden Parva.—Richard Thornton lost his living here, and was succeeded by John Bateman.

North Mimms.—John Clark, who, Walker says, was banished into the Carribean Islands, was succeeded by Thomas Andrewes and John Lloyd, and gained his own again at the Restoration.

Offley.—Thomas Reid, the vicar here, also rector of Ayot St. Lawrence, is said to have "deserted" his living, and Thomas Whotton was appointed in his place.

Pelham, Furneaux.—Henry Hancock, the vicar who walked up and down the Churchyard in the night time with his sword [p. 165], was replaced by Thomas Vaughan.

Pirton.—The notorious Henry Denne, the vicar here, who preached at the visitation at Baldock some strange things about the Church and its clergy, became an Anabaptist or Baptist, and defended John Bunyan, got imprisoned by the Cambridgeshire Committee for preaching against infant baptism, and was followed by Mr. Rotherham.

Redbourn.—Philip Leigh, included in White's *Century of Malignant Priests*, was replaced by Ralph Rotherham.

Rickmansworth.—The venerable vicar of this parish, William Edmonds, was sequestered in 1643, when he had held the living apparently 54 years, and, if the records may be trusted, was the same who was restored by the King in 1660, about 70 years after his first appointment. Mr. Urwick reminds me that the sequestered vicar may have been a son of the above.

Ridge. — In this parish, where lived the philosopher and traveller, Sir Henry Blunt, who attributed his long life to drinking nothing but water, the vicar, Griffith Roberts, according to White's "Century," made up for his wealthy neighbour's abstinence [p. 164], and was replaced by Joseph Gastrell.

St. Albans.—At the Abbey Church, John Browne was deprived in favour of George Newton, who had fled from the siege of Taunton during the War, and soon returned. At *St. Michael's* Abraham Spencer, of Elstree, was sequestered and restored in 1660. *St. Peter's* was sequestered from Anthony Smith, and William Retchford was appointed. At *St. Stephen's* there was also a sequestration or a lapse of the living.

St. Paul's Walden.—Daniel Darnley resigned the living here, and was followed by Samuel Turley.

Sandridge.—This living was resigned during the second year of the War, in 1643.

Sawbridgeworth.—This living was sequestered from Christopher Webb to John Eldred, who had so much trouble over the tithes that he was soon succeeded by John Payne.

Standon.—John Ben was sequestered and followed by John Needham and others.

Tewin.—James Montford, D.D., sequestered in favour of Mr. Dixe.

Therfield.—Sequestered from Dr. Montford to Marmaduke Tenant. [See also Anstey.]

Thorley.—Robert Porey sequestered in favour of John Halsiter.

Tring.—Andrew Harwood, holding another living in Essex, had to give up this living.

Wallington. — The rectory was sequestered from John Bowles, and Walker says that he "had this peculiarity in his sufferings that he was ejected by his own nephew, a zealous Parliamentarian and a captain in the rebel army"; and that, when he was restored in 1660, "one Sherwin who made £300 per annum of the living had the mortification to let go that fat morsel from between his teeth."

Walkern.—Dr. Gorsuch lost this living for his conduct (p. 163], and Nathaniel Ward took his place, upon which Dr. Gorsuch carried off the corn from the glebe, and his wife lost her "fifths" for his contempt.

Ware.—Isaac Craven was a great sufferer according to Walker, but if so he had got back to his living by 1650.

Watton.—William Ingoldsby was sent to the Fleet Prison, and John Wells succeeded him.

Westmill.—Richard Taylor was sequestered in favour of Josias Slader.

Willian.—Richard Way was turned out of this living about 1644 and brought back in 1660. [p. 169.]

The character of the men whom Parliament appointed in place of the Royalist clergy has sometimes been attacked, but one does not find evidence to warrant the supposition that reasonable care was not exercised in securing men of learning and repute. Most of them are described as Masters of Arts, and, beyond an exceptional case here and there of erratic theology, there are few cases in which parishioners made any charge against them.

INDEX.

ERRATA.

Page 15, line 23, *for* Copel, *read* Cople.

,, 88, ,, 40, *for* Valambrosia, *read* Vallombrosa.

Collected Refused 29.2.32